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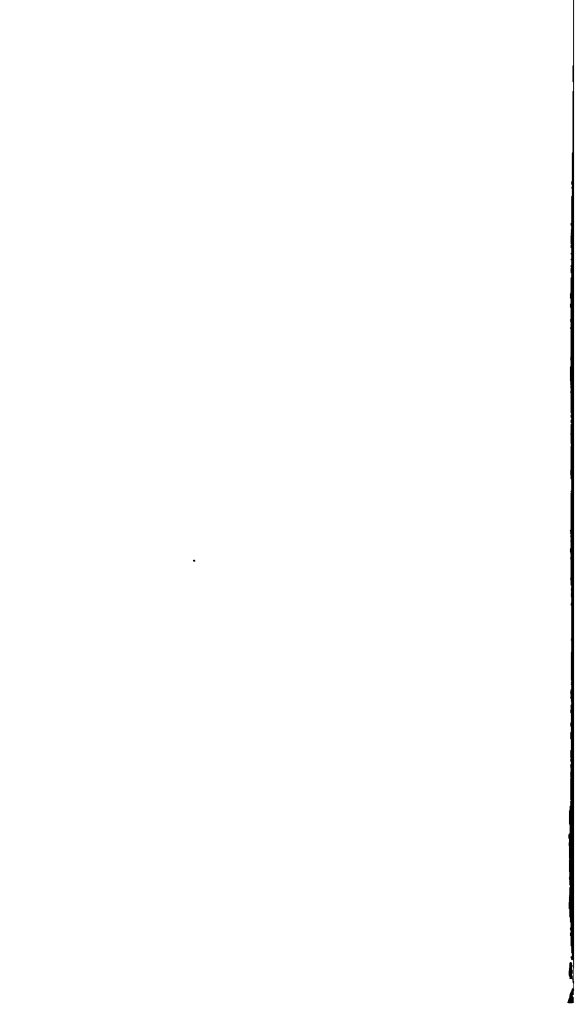


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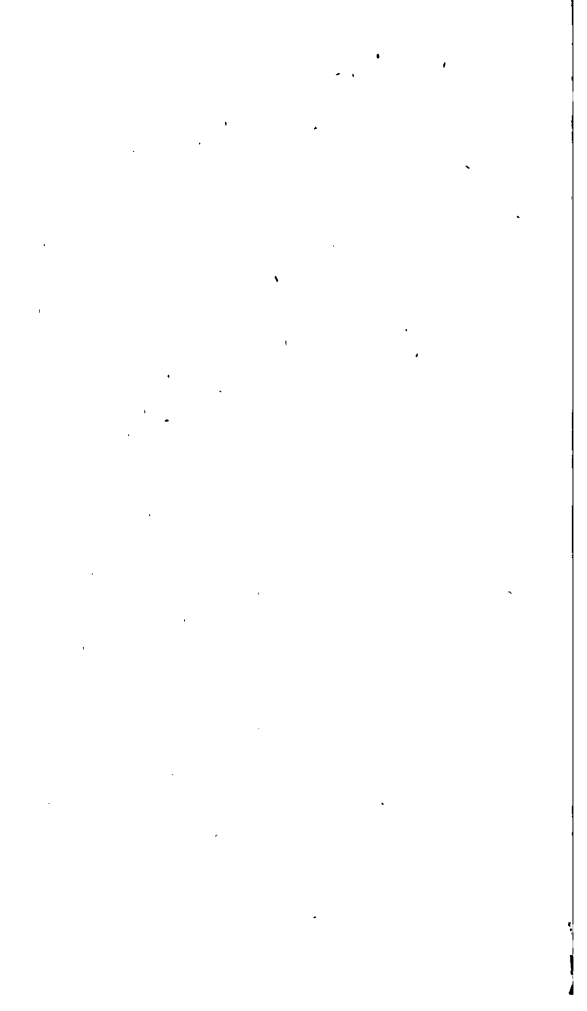


Billy
CAF









**GENUINE
HISTORY OF IRELAND:**

**CONTAINING A SUMMARY ACCOUNT
OF ALL THE
BATTLES, SIEGES, REBELLIONS AND MASSACRES,
WITH THE MOST REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS,
BOTH IN CHURCH AND STATE, SINCE THE
REFORMATION.**

**IN WHICH
THE VALOR AND LOYALTY OF THE IRISH ARE
PROVED, AND THE CALUMNIES ON THEM
AND THEIR COUNTRY REBUTED.**

BY HUGH REILLY, ESQ.

ALSO,

**The Nobility and Gentry's Remonstrance to King
Charles the Second, on his Restoration.**

**The Speech and Dying Words of Oliver Plunket, Arch-
bishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland.**

**The Case of the Roman Catholics of Ireland,
humbly represented to both Houses of Parliament,
with Remarks on the Conditions of Limerick,
and the Nature of taking the Oaths of
Allegiance and Abjuration. By the
Reverend Doctor NARY.**

**THE WHOLE REVISED,
AND BROUGHT DOWN
FROM 1676 TO THE PRESENT TIME.
BY A GENTLEMAN OF DUBLIN.**

**BOSTON :
PUBLISHED BY P. MOONEY.
1838.**

WARE (vol. 2, page 252,) says " he was born in the County of Cavan, that he was a barrister at law, master in Chancery, and Clerk of the Council, when King James II. was in this kingdom, whose fortune he followed afterwards into France, and was made by this prince, his titular Lord Chancellor of Ireland: he wrote and published about the year 1693, "Ireland's Cause briefly stated; or, a summary account of the most remarkable transactions of that kingdom, since the Reformation."

"It was afterwards, (he says,) reprinted about the year 1720, 18 mo. The author, according to Ware's prejudices, represents matters wholly in favor of the Irish, and falls foul on king Charles II. whom he severely condemns for his ingratitude to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, who had faithfully served him." Whether Reilly was impartial or not, in speaking of King Charles II., will best appear in the following pages, where he produces facts and evidence.

The following testimony of Ware is the best proof that Reilly was not disposed to tell lies in favor of either Ireland or her then exiled monarch, James.

"Nor does he excuse his master, king James, who was so offended at his free treatment of him, that he took away his small salary, and turned him out of his titular office; the loss of which lay so heavy upon his spirits that he died soon after, about the year 1694. It is said king James restored him to his pension a short time before his death; and I have been assured (says Ware) that he shewed his book to king James before he put it under the press, who had the perusal of it for three weeks, and upon returning it, told the author there was too much truth in it; but did not forbid him to make it public—yet, when it appeared abroad, he treated him as before related."

WARE'S IRISH WRITERS, page 259.

PREFACE.

THE affairs of Ireland, ever since licentiousness appeared here, under the cloak of Gospel-Liberty, have been so strangely misrepresented abroad, especially in England, where every history was filled with such fictions and calumnies, industriously circulated by persons who seemed to believe they could do no greater service to the God of Truth, than to act the part of the father of lies ; that it is no easy matter for ordinary enquirers to trace the truth of any thing concerning this country, at least, to the satisfaction of those, who are prepossessed by their first notions, and perhaps have in this case no great mind to be undeceived.

It is a true saying, opinion governs the world, and of all opinions that of interest is the most powerful.

It was Saint Paul's sentiment that "godliness is great gain ;" (1 Tim. vi. 6,) but the reformed Saints of this age invert the maxim, and rather conclude, that gain is great godliness.

Upon this godly motive it was, that our zealous reformers came into Ireland to propagate their gospel, where they took more pains to make the land turn Protestant, than the people ; "the confiscation of men's estates (as

King Charles the First well observed of that tribe's apostolical spirit) being more beneficial, than the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their errors."—(Icon. Basil, chap. 12.)

And because they could not compass this effectually, without rendering the Catholic proprietors black and odious to the world, their great zeal for converting those Popish acres, made them stop at nothing that might forward so holy a design ; and therefore, in all cases their chief text was, " throw dirt enough, something will stick ;" *Calumniare fortiter, aliquid adhærebit.*

Hence it is, that those Protestants who came to settle in Ireland, and wrote of what passed here either in their own time or before, especially since the Reformation, took all possible care to wristle or disguise the truth, and were so far from mentioning any thing, at least as far as ever I could find, that might be of any credit or advantage to the Catholic natives, except some few passages in Sir John Davis, that they loaded them on every occasion with all the calumnies their wit or malice could invent.

And those malicious and groundless fictions they imposed for truth, not only upon the inferior sort of English historians, who being all Protestants and generally fanatics, were apt to catch at any bulrush to promote their cause ; but even upon those of the first magnitude, particularly the learned antiquary Cambden, whose errors of that kind gave just occasion to the known and true epigram,

" *Angligenas oculis lustras, Cambdene duobus ; Uno oculo Scotos Cæcus, Hibernigenas.*"

Of this sort of writers we have a cloud of instances,

but a very remarkable one in Sir John Temple, who wrote as many lies as nearly lines, in his romantic legend of the Irish rebellion, on purpose to blacken the people, and exasperate the republicans of England against them, and against the King too, upon the account of the murders he pretends to have been here committed.

And in our days the Rev. Dr. King, the pillar of the party, shews plainly in his late elaborate piece, what spirit our Irish reformers are of, when their spirit prompts them to play the Devil in God's name.

It were too tedious, and indeed not worth the while, to mention the rest ; they are all of a piece, and as the Scotchman says, the " De'el a barrel better herrings ;" insomuch that if they did not abominate confession, as much as they hate restitution (which though one of the most essential parts of a repenting Christian's duty, is never preached or practiced by Protestants, let them wrong their neighbors ever so much) they might all unanimously cry with the scornful rulers of Jerusalem, mentioned by the prophet : " We have placed our hope in lies ; and by falsehood we are protected." (Isa. 28. 15.) For it seems very plain, that the same active envoy, who offered to be a lying spirit in the mouth of all the prophets of kings, (3 Kings, 22, 22,) Achab, performed his part with a witness among these evangelical seers.

For my part I can affirm, I have here endeavored to trace out and deliver the truth, as nearly as I possibly could in so short a discourse ; and the chief points of what is related in the following treatise, I have taken from authentic records, and the most impartial memoirs of these times, or from living witnesses of undoubted pro-

bity ; in only some few cases I followed the common and constant tradition of the most knowing people of this country, which in my opinion, is much more warrantable than the malicious, incoherent, and in some cases, morally impossible, relation of others.

I am still ready to stand corrected, when better proofs are produced ; for there is nothing I love so entirely as truth and justice ; and therefore, I hold myself obliged to any one, who will give a more exact account of those affairs, with such proofs as may seem reasonable to any indifferent person, without shuffling or going about the bush.

In the mean time, I will, upon these terms, conclude with the poet, "

———" *Si quid novisti rectius istis candidus imperti :
Si non, his utere mecum.*"

GENUINE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

FIRST PART.

As soon as Queen Mary died, Elizabeth, Henry the VIII's daughter by Ann Bullen, was assumed to the crown, through the fatal indifference of the Catholic clergy and laity, who were then the major part of the kingdom, and the men chiefly in power ; yet foolishly preferring a bastard of their own country, before the lawful issue of Henry the VIIth's eldest daughter, married in Scotland, they generally proclaimed Elizabeth Queen of England ; although, besides many other proofs of her being illegitimate, they knew well that she had been so declared by two acts of Parliament, then in force, and never yet repealed.

This queen being sensible, that by the ancient and known laws of the Catholic church, and the decrees of several popes, which she could not expect to get repealed,

she was a notorious bastard, and consequently had no right to the crown, (and in truth she had no more by the fundamental law of the land than the late Duke of Monmouth,) openly declaring herself a Protestant, and resolved to establish that sort of profession in all her dominions, in which undertaking her preachers had much the same success, that the harlot boasted of to Socrates : " That she could find more followers than he, notwithstanding all his philosophy, because (as that great man answered,) she proposed the loose way of vice and wickedness, whilst he preached the rugged path of virtue."

In England, she got her parliaments to pass what laws she pleased to that purpose, and to turn Protestants too for company, as being the easier way to heaven ; for until then, the silly papists thought themselves very happy, if they could reach thither at any rate, not only like pilgrims on foot, but with a continual exercise of tedious fastings, large alms, frequent confessions, austere penance, and over and above all this, a full and free restitution to the utmost of their power, whenever they had injured their neighbors ; but upon a new protestant discovery of the north east passage to paradise, they found they might go to heaven in coaches, and be secured of the land of prom-

ise, without that "superstitious foppery," which could avail them nothing. Wherefore, this edifying doctrine of gospel liberty, so charming for its novelty, and so agreeable to flesh and blood, was immediately received into England with open arms ; and for fear the changeable people should offer at any time to prefer the flesh-pots of Egypt before this heavenly manna, it was "*established by law.*"

But in Ireland the "incorrigible fools" were more steady and fixed in their ancient way of worship ; for, although in Henry the VIII's time, they were strangely imposed upon, and made to believe that the chief quarrel this king had with the pope, was purely about civil affairs, or matters of temporal government, and were the more induced to believe this, because the king and his English parliament too, who had declared for him against the Pope, were at the same time all professed Roman Catholics, for which reason the Irish parliament made no scruple to pass several extravagant acts against the papal jurisdiction, or the same in effect that had passed before in the parliament of England ; yet having had time to consider of what they had done, and finding that all the Catholics of Europe exclaimed against their proceedings, they had no sooner met again in parliament, which was

the third of Philip and Mary, but they unanimously repealed and abolished all the said statutes. Queen Elizabeth, therefore, knowing that the Irish could not be again surprised the same way, but on the contrary were resolved against all innovations in religion, caused a packed convention to assemble under the notion of a parliament, which for the most part consisted of such members as she believed might be easily imposed upon, not to thwart her designs. For in this convention all possible care was taken, that as few of the most eminent piers, and as few of the leading commoners of the kingdom as possible, should meet; by which means, and some other subsequent devices, matters were so contrived, that several acts were then pawned upon the people, for granting to that queen the absolute disposal of ecclesiastical livings, especially of bishopricks, for enjoining her new oath of supremacy, and utterly abolishing the Pope's jurisdiction. And to complete the work, laws were passed for establishing, instead of Mass her *Book of Common Prayer*, with severe penalties upon such as should oppose any branch of their precious reformation.

Now that these pretended statutes were gained by tricks, and sinister ways, and not by the free and legal consent of the representative body of the nation, plainly appears,

from this undeniable truth, that not one in five hundred of the natives was then protestant, or became so during Queen Elizabeth's reign, which could not possibly have happened, no more than it did in England or Scotland, had the Irish lords and commons freely consented to the enacting of such laws. And for a further confirmation of this truth, it is to be observed, that whilst those lived, that sat in said convention, and knew very well that no such acts were passed by them, this queen never ventured to put them in execution, nor indeed to make any great noise to shew that there were such statutes in being, until after the Spanish Armada, which invaded her in the year 1588, was utterly defeated.

That Spanish cloud was no sooner dispersed, than Queen Elizabeth resolved to fall upon the Irish with all the severity imaginable, in order to force her pretended reformation upon them. First, she prosecuted some on pretence of having relieved a few Spaniards cast by stress of weather upon the coast of Ireland ; then she ordered others to be seized on for having harbored catholic bishops, priests, and friars ; and a great many more were questioned for having been at mass, or not coming to the protestant meetings, as they were enjoined to do by the said pretended acts of parliament.

The nobility and gentry of Ireland, particularly the Earl of Tyrone, and several others of the leading men of the nation, were strangely alarmed at this illegal way of proceeding ; for they plainly saw, there was no choice now left but either to abjure their religion, or to stand in their own just defence against the arbitrary encroachments of that usurper. They chose to venture upon the latter, and particularly because of the encouragement they received, not only from the Spaniards, who promised them mighty succors, but also from James the VI., king of Scotland, who, though bred a protestant, yet as well to revenge his mother Queen Mary's barbarous murder, the undoubted heiress to the crown of England and Ireland, as also to divert and weaken the English, in case they should oppose his rightful succession, sent them underhand more effectual supplies from time to time, than the Spaniards did, notwithstanding their great promises.

Hereupon a war ensued, which lasted several years, and only ended when Queen Elizabeth was expiring. The Lord Mountjoy, then her deputy of Ireland, finding she was despaired of by her physicians, and not knowing what revolution might happen in England upon her death, employed some friends underhand, to make overtures to the

Earl of Tyrone of a general amnesty for himself and all his adherents, granting the free exercise of their religion, and full enjoyment of their estates and fortunes, on condition that they would speedily lay down their arms. Tyrone and his party accepted of these terms, and were thereupon restored to their former possessions, which they peaceably enjoyed for several years after. The summer following, Tyrone goes for England, to submit himself in person to James I. who now succeeded Queen Elizabeth on the English throne, where he was not only well received by the king, (as Baker observes,) but also had a proclamation issued in his favor, that he should be used by all men with honor and respect.

This king, while in Scotland, gave great hopes to the English Catholics, and to the pope, of his favorable intentions towards their party, and promised him his protection and favor, in case he succeeded Queen Elizabeth; nay, there was an express letter under the king's hand and seal, to Clement VIII. (dated September 24th, 1559,) then pope, to assure his holiness of his majesty's inclination to become a Roman Catholic when he was settled on the English throne, as Sanderson,* and several others mention,

* In his King James Edit. London, 1659, page 43.

but with this addition of their own, that the letter was sent by the fraud of the Scotch secretary of state ; but however it was, it is most certain, that the king was soon diverted from all this by the fraud and wicked artifice of the English secretary, crooked-backed Cecil, by whom, after the said letter was brought out of the pope's Cabinet, his majesty was prevailed upon to shew that party no manner of countenance ; but on the contrary, to pass very severe laws against them, upon the account of the horrid *powder plot*, which was soon after framed by the contrivance of that crafty minister, but fathered upon the English Catholics, because some thirteen turbulent spirits of them, men for the most part of desperate estates* as they were described by King James' own proclamation, were wheedled into it by that crooked Archtophel, as the surest way to be secured against the bloody penal law of Queen Elizabeth.

I know this point has been sufficiently handled by able pens, both protestant and catholic, but upon the whole matter I am clearly of opinion that no rational man, who impartially weighs all the strange circumstances of that hellish contrivance, (as they are represented by several writers of both

* See proclamation 7th November, 1605.

sides, but more fully by the honorable and ingenious author of the catholic apology,* printed Anno 1674,) but must believe, that none was more deeply concerned therein than Cecil himself : for if we consider first, the number, the quality, and the interest of the plotters so very unlikely to carry on a design of that extraordinary nature ; second, the unaccountable romantic manner of its discovery, by a letter † from an unknown hand, which could not possibly have been penned by any real plotter in his wits, much less sent ten ‡ days before the intended execution, when the sending it on the very eve had been much better, how the ring-leaders, Catesby and Piercy,|| who best knew the bottom of the design were killed on the spot, as Tresham§ died in a few days after he was sent to the Tower, and of a strangury forsooth, which was ever reputed a lingering distemper ; and in fine, if we call to mind, how wicked statesmen have often used the like practices for ends of their own, as Cecil's own father, the Lord Burleigh, and his predecessor¶ Walshingham, had frequently done in Queen Elizabeth's

* In his 28th repl. page 399.

† Baker's Chron. edit. Anno 1670, page 410.

‡ Saunderson's King James, page 323.

|| How's King James edit. Anno 1631, page 176.

§ Baker, page 410. ¶ Baker, ibid.

reign ; even as the tyrant Cromwell contrived several such plots for ensnaring the royal cavalries, and Cecil Redivivus, creeping Shaftsbury, was no less dexterious in the late Kings days ; all these circumstances, I say, duly and practically considered, we cannot but conclude, as Osburn, an inquisitive Protestant author of those times has already done, who plainly says, that* the powder plot was a neat device of the treasurer, i. e. of Crookbacked Cecil, who, after he had done this mighty peice of service, was in a few months made knight of the garter, and in a few years high treasurer of England.†

This haughty Haman, now puffed up with success showed himself openly so inveterate an enemy to his Catholic countrymen, that he was accused (as Saunderson ‡ mentions) of determining their utter extirpation. Neither did his malice stop here, but being a famed professor in tricks, (as Othurn describes him) and finding how well his wicked stratagem took in London, he framed a project to carry on the like design in Ireland. In order to this, Christopher St.

* Camden edit. Anno 1627 ad Annum 1606, page 408. Osburn's historical memors edit. Anno 1658, page 36.

† For a full history of this plot, see Andrews' Gunpowder Plot, and Milner's VIth letter to Sturges.

‡ In his King James, page 335.

Laurence, commonly called the blind Lord of Howth, was wrought upon to invite the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, the Lord Baron of Delvin, and several other leading men of the Irish Catholics to a meeting,* at which having first persuaded them to an oath of secrecy, as having somewhat of moment to tell them, he declared that to his knowledge the state had resolved to force the Catholics of Ireland to become Protestants, and that to prevent the mischief, they had no way but their speedy and unanimous resolution to stand in their own defence, until they were secured against all alterations in religion.

The proposal was no sooner made than rejected unanimously by the whole company, alleging that they had no reason to apprehend such usage contrary to public faith ; that King James was a just Prince, and by an undoubted right their lawful sovereign ; and therefore, that they would not rashly venture upon so dangerous an undertaking. Nevertheless St. Laurence goes immediately to the Lord Deputy, and discovered their meeting, charging them with a treasonable conspiracy ; whereupon Tyrone and the rest were sent for, and examined before the Council, where they

* Historical Memoirs, pp. 87 and 88.

stifly denied the whole matter ; but seeing St. Laurence appeared before them to confront them, they acknowledged there had been a meeting, and proposal made by St. Laurence, but unanimously rejected by them for divers reasons, which they then repeated. They were severally examined, but all agreeing, and nothing appearing against them but one single witness, the council did not think fit to commit them, but ordered them to appear again the next day. In the mean time they were underhand advised by some pretended friends in the council, to save themselves for fear of being imprisoned, till some other corrupt evidence might be found ; which they were assured was designed. This knavish advice the said Earls foolish took and were thereupon declared rebels, and not only their own particular estates, but also six entire counties in Ulster were seized upon as forfeited to the crown, without any further hearing or legal trial ; and divided among several English and Scottish Protestants, on such conditions as made it plain that the natives, together with their religion were forever to be suppressed ; for they were prohibited under pecuniary mulcts and other severe penalties from the exercise of it, and in every grant there was a special proviso in the letters patent, that

no part of these lands should be set to farm, at least not sold or transferred to any but to English or Scottish Protestants. At the same time St. Laurence, notwithstanding the great zeal he pretended a little before, for the preservation of the Catholic religion, turned Protestant, and upon that account had no small share in the spoil.

There was no doubt but this strange usage caused great heart-burnings among the Irish, especially those of the said six escheated counties who were the immediate sufferers, yet they patiently bore their afflictions, until they found that their enemies' malice was not to rest there, but had resolved to extirpate their whole nation, or force them to renounce their religion. The Earl of Strafford alarmed a great many by the sinister way he took, during his government of that kingdom, to find flaws in the titles of several gentlemen to their ancient estates in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught ; which he did, not to serve the King, but to enrich himself and his creatures. Among the many instances that could be given of this kind, that of the territory of Idough in the county of Kilkenny, is very remarkable, for Strafford being resolved to seize upon the scope of land, and finding no legal cause against the proprietors, who had been in quiet and

peaceable possession thereof for some ages, caused an inquisition to be taken about the year 1635, whereby that whole territory was found in the King, upon no other pretence, but that Henry the Second was entitled to it nearly 500 years before. And upon this single account he turns the former proprietors out of doors, and gets the same granted by letters patent to his own relation, Sir Christopher Wandesford. *Ex Unque Leonem.*

This was another, and a very shrewd warning, to make the Irish apprehend what usage they were to expect, but they were threatened far worse afterwards, when the Presbyterian party in England and Scotland, having concerted among themselves, and resolved to run down episcopacy and monarchy, had wheedled King Charles into such prodigious concessions, especially that fatal mistake of making his English parliament perpetual, that it was no longer in his power to stop their career : for then their brethren in iniquity, the fanatics of Ireland, who all the while kept a strict correspondence with those of England, concluded that now or never was the time for them to extirpate the Irish Catholics, root and branch. To compass this *godly project*, they framed a *petition*, addressed to the English parliament, and got it signed by many

thousands, praying that the Irish Papists might be forced either to turn Protestants, or to quit the kingdom, and such as should prove refractory, to be hanged at their own doors.* And so certain were they of carrying this point, that several of them declared openly, even at the council table, that within a twelve-month, there should not be a Catholic in Ireland.

Here we have a hopeful scheme of a Protestant thorough reformation, whose *knocking* arguments are urged, and not to convince people's judgment, but to beat out their brains, a practice never thought of, much less used, by the most renowned of our primitive christians towards the very heathens. For the Roman Emperors, after they happily submitted the eagle to the cross of Christ, were so far from offering any such force or violence to those who were educated in the Pagan worship, that they never proposed to have them punished either in purse or person, for not conforming to the christian faith; because they could not but think it highly unreasonable, that a people who brought in no new sort of religion, *either* of their own, or of any other late invention, but were in the peace-

* See the Narrative of the late troubles in Ireland, edit. London, Anno 1660, p. 3.

able possession of an old one for many hundred, if not thousands of years before the Gospel was known in the world, should be otherwise delt with, in order to their conversion. Hence prayers and preaching, and convincing reasons were the only methods prescribed, and practised by Christ and his Apostles. Thus did the glory of our British isle, the great Constantine, (as appears by his edict recorded by Eusebius* in that Emperor's life) endeavour with strong and solid arguments to persuade his heathen subjects to quit idolatry, and embrace the truth of the gospel ; yet he never offered to force any, but to the contrary declared, that he left them at free liberty to follow their own inclination. And to come nearer home thus did King Ethelbert, the first English Christian Monarch, after he was converted by St. Austin, the Monk, deal with his Pagan subjects, of whom he never persecuted any, (as venerable Bede informs us) but gave every body the freedom of his conscience. The same author† observes, that he learned from those who taught him the way of salvation, that the service of Christ must be no forced compli-

* Lib. de Vita Constantini, c. 47, &c.

† Didicerat enim et a Doctoribus, Auctoribusque suæ Salutis, Servitium Christi voluntarium, non coactum esse debere. Bede Lib. 1. Hist. Genris Anglorum, Cap. 25.

ance, but a free and voluntary obedience. Nevertheless, our new sort of saints must have new methods of their own, to outdo even the furious zeal of the Arian reformers, who were the first contrivers among christians of that unchristian way of reforming the Catholic church by penal laws and persecutions ; and therefore the Catholics of Ireland, who for twelve hundred years remained faithful to the faith they received from their Apostle St. Patrick, must now be convinced by halters and gibbets, that their ancestors were all in the wrong, and that Christ stood in need of Luther and Calvin's new Revelations to refine his gospel, and rebuild his church, which was gone to decay, notwithstanding all his fair promises to the contrary And what is the natural consequence of all this but the monstrous conclusion of Barnardinus* Ochinus, "that men of sense cannot in reason believe such a lying Messiah, as Jesus Christ !"

But to pursue our present purpose, the barbarous petition aforesaid come at last to the knowledge of some Catholic gentlemen in Ulster, as it was there handed about; in order to get more names ; and by the

* See Sir Kenelm Digby's observations on Religion Medici.

means of one Mr. Primrose, a Minister, living near Crum Castle, into whose hands it came, that it might be signed both by himself and by the chief Protestants of his parish and neighborhood. But he, as he was an honest, moral man, and no enemy to the Roman Catholic Religion, being astonished at so unchristian a design, which he knew was vastly different from the spirit of the primitive church, (the pattern these Protestants pretended to follow) shewed the petition to the said Catholics, who soon after complained of it to the Judges then going the circuit, and to some other magistrates, but all to no purpose ; for upon the whole matter, they were rather confirmed in their apprehensions of the approaching danger, than eased with any hopes of security. This put the Catholics of the whole kingdom into very great consternation, and particularly as they knew the Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, were not only rank Presbyterians, but openly for the Parliament, against the King, so that no redress could be expected at their hands. And, on the other side, they found that his Majesty's affairs were so far embroiled in England, that it was not in his power to relieve them ; for if the house of commons there carried it so high against the Protestant

Bishops and Clergy, established by law, (to say nothing of Strafford's unparalleled usage) it was in vain for Catholics, especially for those of Ireland, to hope for any protection against them. The people thus abandoned on all sides, could plainly see their danger, but not the way to escape it. They saw no security but in arms, yet that seemed too desperate a remedy even for so desperate a disease; and besides being no way furnished either with arms or ammunition, they were at a stand, not knowing what to do, when all on a sudden an unlucky occasion presented.

The King, perceiving, but too late, what his rebel parliament designed against him in England, sent instructions by the Marquis of Antrim to the Earl of Ormond, then lieutenant-general of his army in Ireland, to contrive with his other loyal subjects there, the best methods they could for seizing upon the Parliamentary Justices, and declaring in favor of his Majesty, against the proceedings of the English Parliament.—Ormond communicates the message to a select number both of Catholics and Protestants, and after several meetings and debates, the matter was at last concerted, and the 16th of November 1641, when the Irish Parliament was to meet, was appointed for putting it in execution.

But the design taking wind, it came to the knowledge of those they call the Old Irish, from whom Ormond earnestly desired it should be kept secret. Sir Phelim O'Neil, with several others of Ulster, resolving to be beforehand with his Lordship, against whom they were highly incensed for offering to conceal this secret from them, as if they were less zealous than others for their Majesty's service, entered for the same end into a conspiracy, persuaded that if they succeeded, they should not only be indulged in point of religion, as the Presbyterian covenanters had lately been in Scotland, but also to be restored to their former estates, out of which they had been dispossessed but about thirty years before, by the English and Scotch Protestants, who were now generally bent for the parliament against the King.

The plot being thus laid, and the 23d of October 1641, appointed for its execution, to get the start of Ormond and his party, Lord Maguire with several others undertook to seize upon the Lords Justices and the Castle of Dublin ; but their design being discovered the night before it was to have been executed, his Lordship was taken and sent prisoner into England. Sir Phelim O'Neil and his confederates had better success in Ulster, where they surprised Claremont, and some

other garrisons. This is the naked truth of the rise and origin of what is called the Irish Insurrection in the winter of 1641, as I have been often assured by men of sense and integrity, particularly by a very honest gentleman now in France, who some ten years ago affirmed to me, that he had it even from Ormond's own mouth, years before : and I am fully persuaded, it is the most rational, and most likely account, that has been yet given of that matter. And for a further confirmation of it, the late Marchioness of Antrim, and always a very zealous Protestant, and therefore in this case a witness beyond exception, owned to some friends in London in the year 1683, that she had often heard the Marquis, her husband, give much the same relation of this particular ; and affirmed, that Ormond had no other ground or motive for the great persecution he raised against him upon the late King's restoration, but that he suspected him (and that very wrongfully, as the Marquis solemnly protested to herself and others) to have discovered the secret aforesaid to Sir Phelim O'Neil.*

The Lords Justices, and most of the Council, were not a little pleased at this

* For further particulars concerning the mis-called Insurrection of 1641, see Murphy's Geography.

revolution, and hoping to secure now the estates of all the Catholics in the kingdom, which they had long desired, they now resolved to leave no stone unturned, fully to compass that design. They issued several proclamations against the Ulster rebels, requiring all loyal subjects to suppress them ; yet this was only for shew, or as the saying is a copy of their countenance, for their true intention was to involve the inhabitants of the other provinces also in the same crime, so as to bring them under the lash of the law ; and therefore they took no care to suppress the Northern insurrection, that the contagion might spread and infect the whole kingdom. For this reason, when the Catholics about Dublin offered their service to the Lords Justices they were not only refused arms and amunition, at least to any amount, but soon after denied even protection, insomuch that the soldiers were suffered to plunder, and knock many of them on the head without any provocation. Neither were others better used in the rest of the kingdom, who not only were never concerned in the rebellion, but also offered to give security to live quietly and peaceably at home. Yet this was so far from being granted, that they were ill used everywhere by the Protestants, and treated more

like rebels that subjects ; nay the Earl of Castlehaven* suffered many months imprisonment for offering to speak in their behalf, and it was believed that his head would have paid for it, had he not happily escaped.

The King, to whom for a great while the affairs of Ireland were industriously† mis-represented, found out at least the true origin of this commotion. He saw that it sprung from the same source whence proceeded all the rest of his troubles, which was a formed design of the republican part of his subjects to ruin himself and his friends, as perhaps by his serious reflections : : his solitudes.‡ Thus his Majesty speaks :—
“ Certainly, it is thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigor, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in England, was not the least incentive that kindled and blew up into horrid flames and sparks of discontent, which wanted no predisposed fuel to rebellion in Ireland ; where despair being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easy to provoke them to an open rebellion ; both to exempt themselves

* See Castlehaven's Memoirs, 2d. edition.

† King Charles I. Sense of the Troubles in Ireland. .

‡ Icon. Basilike, ch. 12.

from their present restraint, and to prevent those after rigors, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatened by the covetous zeal and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great argument of the truth of their religion to endure no other but their own." And again he says : " Some kind of zeal counts all merciful moderations lukewarmness ; and had rather be cruel than counted cold, and is not seldom more greedy to kill the bear for his skin, than for any other harm he hath done ; the confiscation of men's estates being more beneficial than the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their errors."— And at length concludes :—" I believe it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil my other kingdoms, are in a great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timely stopping, those horrid effusions of blood in Ireland."

But notwithstanding all the care of that party, to misrepresent matters to his Majesty, he was in the very beginning so far informed of the grievances of his Irish subjects, and of the designs laid to ruin them, that to render those projects ineffectual, he was graciously pleased to order the Lords Justices, to issue a proclamation of pardon to all those who would submit in forty days after its publication. This seemed no less

than a thunderbolt, which was like to blast all the hopes of the party, who till then, promised themselves vast estates, by fishing in those troubled waters, but who would now be utterly disappointed, if the King's orders should be obeyed. To prevent therefore, so fatal a blow, and at the same time to effect a compliance with his Majesty's commands, they issued a proclamation of pardon, yet so that no estated man whatsoever, nor hardly the meanest peasant then in arms, could reap any benefit by it ; for the pardon was only for such as were not freeholders, and should repair to Dublin in ten days time, a thing they knew impossible to be done. And to the end that the King might have no further information of the true state of affairs in Ireland, Sir John Reed, one of his Majesty's sworn servants, who promised the said Catholics to represent their grievances to his royal master, was seized by the Lords Justices in Dublin, as he was ready to go for England, and was barbarously tortured upon the rack* to squeeze something out of him, whereby they might accuse the Queen, or the King himself, of that insurrection.

By these strange and † unchristian pro-

* See Catlehaven's Memoirs.

† The Confederate Catholics meet at Kilkenny.

ceedings, the generality of the kingdom were brought at last under an apparent necessity, as the Protestants had all along desired and designed, to look to their own safety, and to take arms for their own defence : who, therefore, assembling themselves at Kilkenny, entered into an association by the name of the "*Confederate Catholics of Ireland*," and raised some forces in order to preserve their lives from the persecution of their enemies. Yet to vindicate their actions to the world, and throw off the imputation of their designing to rebel against the King, they published a manifesto, wherein they set forth their reasons for taking arms, declaring themselves still faithful subjects to his Majesty, and abhorers of the parliament's proceedings against him ; and for a further demonstration of their loyalty and sincerity, they took themselves, and imposed upon all those of their party, such a new oath of allegiance, which might be taken by Catholics without renouncing any principle of their religion, and did fully express their duty and fidelity to the King. And afterwards they appointed commissioners to be sent to his Majesty into England to represent their grievances, and the tyrannical proceedings of the Lord Justices.

Before I proceed any futher, it is necessary to examine, what I heartily wish, for

the credit of both parties, could be buried in eternal oblivion, that is, the many outrages and barbarous murders committed on both sides, during the unhappy war. Neither party can be excused, but those to be sure are more to blame, who began the tragedy. It is certain, each of them has labored to throw the first scene upon the other ; but upon the whole matter, I think it is very plain, that the Protestants were the first actors upon the stage, who immediately upon the discovery of the plot in Dublin, finding there was not many concerned in the northern insurrection, but men of desperate fortunes, and apprehending that few estated natives would willingly engage in a rebellion, took what measures they could to provoke and frighten them into it : in order to which design they sent out several parties, as well in remote places as round about Dublin,* who murdered a great many without distinction of age or sex: particularly at Santry, Clontarf and Bullock, all within a few miles of the city, where they massacred in the beginning of November, 1641, nearly fourscore of the country people ; as the garrison of Carrickfergus some days before butchered in one night all

* See narrative of the troubles in Ireland, page 5, and collection of murders committed upon the Irish, printed at London, Anno 1662, pages, 1, 8, 9, 15, 19, 23, &c.

the inhabitants of the country called Island Magee, to the number of two or three thousand men, women and children. The like feats were done by the Lord Broghill, late Earl of Orrery, in the counties of Cork, Waterford, and the parts adjacent ; by Sir Charles Coote in his expedition into the county of Wicklow ; by Captains Peasely, Brown and others in the county of Tipperary ; and in fine, because it was a general contrivance, by most of the Protestant garrisons of any strength, all over the kingdom.

The Irish who were in arms in Ulster, contented themselves hitherto from doing any thing more than plundering the Protestants, without touching the lives of any that did not appear in arms against them, but hearing of the inhuman proceedings aforesaid, they were so far exasperated, that although the leading men amongst them were not so void of humanity as to revenge their countrymen's death upon those that had no hand in their blood, yet the common soldiers took a resolution to use the Protestants in the north no better than the Catholics were treated there, or in the other provinces ; and upon this single account, many hundreds of lives were lost on both sides in cold blood, each party pretending to revenge the murders committed by the other upon their friends.

It is not yet known how many were thus sacrificed on either side ; but too many they were, be they ever so few. Sir John Temple's romantic legend, where he draws up his muster roll of two or three hundred thousand of English Protestants massacred in one province, is not only incredible, but most ridiculous, and absolutely impossible ; for (to omit that some hundreds, said to have been there slain, were living for many years after, and some of them lived to see the restoration) all informed men must own, that there was not half that number of Protestants in the whole kingdom in the summer of 1641, as the aforesaid author of the Catholic apology,* an English person of honor, who generally took some pains to examine this aspersion, has proved, not only from good reasons, but even from Protestant writers. He concludes upon the whole matter, that all these hundreds of thousands, said to have been murdered in the north, could not exceed three thousand. Sir W. Petty, an Englishman, and a Protestant, who was clerk to the Usurper's Council, and surveyor general of the lands of Ireland, an inquisitive person, affirms, that upon the most exact scrutiny, there were not above thirty-six thousand on both sides killed in

* In his reply, page 53, &c.

the field, or murdered in cold blood, during the whole war.

However it be, for it stands not with my intended brevity to enter now upon the particulars, it is manifest, there were six times more of the Catholics massacred than of the Protestants, upon that occasion. First, because most of the Protestants lived at that time in cities, walled towns and castles, which secured them from the fury of the rabble ; and the rest, who lived scattered up and down the country, retired in all the haste they could into these towns and places of strength, as soon as the troubles began, and there they continued during the war, or withdrew into England or Scotland, so that few or none of them perished, but such as fell in the very beginning of the confusion ; whereas the Catholics being all along exposed in the open country, to the fury of their merciless enemies, were for the space of twelve years together, butchered upon all occasions. Secondly because what was done to the Protestants was committed by the unruly rabble, not only without, but contrary to the orders of their leaders, by whom several of the murderers were hanged for their barbarous doings. But the Protestants in most places acted their parts by public orders, being commanded not to spare the least child, though but a span long, as

Sir Charles Coote often expressed himself, to those he sent abroad to butcher the Irish. Thirdly, because of the very small number of Catholics executed by the Cromwellians, upon the account of those murders, who, had they been three times so many, and all guilty, could not rationally be supposed able to kill any considerable number of Protestants, unless we fancy them so many giants, or truly to answer the characters given in a compliment by the women of Israel, that "*Saul had killed his thousands, and David his ten thousands,*" (1 Sam.) for, as soon as Ireland was reduced by the usurpers, they erected their pretended high court of justice; wherein all possible inquiries were made over all the kingdom, to find out what murders had been committed upon the Protestants during the war, and swarms of witnesses were hired to swear home; but notwithstanding all the clamor of *three hundred thousand*, said to have been massacred in one province only, there were but one hundred and forty Irish, both men and women, (for in this case neither age nor sex was regarded,) and but few of them of any note condemned, though their very enemies were their judges, on pretence of all the murders committed by the Catholics from first to last. And most of those protested at their death, (the only time men ought to be most believ-

ed,) that they were innocent of the crimes laid to their charge. But if such inquiries had been made on the other side, and every murderer of them been brought to answer for himself, I dare say, the tenth man of the parliamentarians of Ireland, could not escape before any just tribunal upon earth, and so sensible was that very party of the truth of this assertion, upon the late king's restoration, that when some Irish Catholics, then in London, who took upon them to act there for their countrymen, proposed that all the murderers on both sides should be excepted out of the act of indemnity, these Protestants' guilty consciences so plainly appeared, that they could not endure to hear of the proposal; nor think themselves safe until they were assured that there was none excepted out of the act, but some few regicides, and the Catholics of Ireland.

This, briefly, is the naked truth of this tragical history, which has raised so great a clamour in the world. The Catholics suffered in much greater numbers; but dying as it were dumb, like so many sheep brought to the slaughter, their blood made no great noise, at least in England; but the protestants fell, as I may say, with so many speaking trumpets in their mouths, that every individual seemed an hundred. And it was next to a miracle that they were not made

some millions, since so many inveterate republicans made it their daily business to repeat, like so many echoes, the cruelties committed upon their party, though not so much out of any love or pity to those that suffered, as for wicked ends of their own ; that is to run down the king at any rate, to whom with more than diabolical malice, they attributed all these murders ; and by that means, and such other contrivances of theirs that murdered him in the hearts of his people, long before they brought him to the scaffold.

Neither were the miscreants content with blasting his majesty's reputation during his life only, but pursued the same malice several years after his death ; for in 1653, when they took Sir Phelim O'Neil prisoner, and got him condemned in Dublin, by their high court of justice, although they looked upon him at the same time as the chief promoter of all the murders they fancied to have been committed upon the Protestants in Ulster, which yet was so far from being true that none could be more severe than himself upon those murderers, having caused several of them to be hanged for their inhuman dealings ; nevertheless, these implacable enemies of the kings and kingly government, believing the gentleman undeniably guilty of all this bloodshed, offered him his

life, in case he would but own that the northern insurrection was acted by commission from king Charles the First. But he, like a man of honor, choosing rather to die with a safe conscience, than basely to redeem his life, by belying his innocent prince in the grave, not only slighted the proposal, but publicly cleared his majesty, even at the place of execution, as my Lord Maguire did nine years before in London, notwithstanding all the offers and endeavors of the RUMP PARLIAMENT.

But to return from this melancholy digression, although the confederate catholics had thus united themselves for their own preservation, yet they never intended to hold out against the king, or to disown their allegiance to him ; and, therefore, finding by this time, that the war was broken out between the king and parliament in England, and that his majesty at last thought fit to lay aside their inveterate enemies, the parliamentarian lords justices, and to appoint the earl of Ormond lord lieutenant of the kingdom, they immediately concluded a cessation with him on the 15th of September, 1643, and furnished him with thirty thousand eight hundred pounds sterling, to enable him to transport into England the Protestant army then under his command, since to prove himself a more zealous Protestant than a

wise or able minister of state, he refused the offer of their Catholic army, and would hardly allow them to send 2000 of their men into Scotland, to reinforce the king's party there, under the command of the marquis of Montrose. Soon after, they despatched Lord Muskerry, Sir Nicholas Plunket, and others to England, to solicit his majesty for redress of several grievances, relating as well to the Catholic religion, as to their temporal freedom. These agents, after a favorable hearing, were referred back to the lord lieutenant, whom his majesty at the same time seriously recommended to conclude a peace with the confederate Catholics ; but pressed him afterwards, more earnestly, by several letters and messages, to make a speedy end of the war of Ireland, declaring that if his Irish subjects would be content with the free exercise of their own religion, and the repeal of Poyning's act over and above a general amnesty for the past, he would think it no hard bargain : adding with all, that he would have a peace concluded with them whatever it cost.

Ormond, nevertheless, proved deaf to all this, and never could be induced, notwithstanding his master's repeated commands, to conclude a peace with the Irish, who earnestly desired it, until the king's affairs were in a manner past retrieve in England,

after the battle of Naseby, and the several other losses the royal party sustained in that campaign. Then, and not till then, could he be brought to a treaty ; and even in those very circumstances so unwilling was he to put an end to the war, that although the articles were agreed on in March following, between him and certain commissioners, appointed for that purpose, yet he put off the exchanging of them for that time, until the king finding his army in no condition to keep the field that summer, unfortunately put himself, in the beginning of May, 1646, into the hands of the Scotch rebels then before Newark, by whom he was soon after prevailed upon to recall, by his letter to Ormond of the 11th of June from Newcastle, all the powers he had formerly given him, for concluding a peace with the Irish. The supreme council of the confederate Catholics, wondering at these delays, sent at last to Ormond about midsummer, to know his final resolution concerning the peace, who answered, that he could proceed no further in that treaty, because he had received his majesty's commands to the contrary. Nevertheless, having upon second thought, hit upon a new scheme of policy for imposing upon the confederates, he sends to them in some weeks afterwards, and renews the treaty ; for he considered, that he might,

on the one hand, proceed to the exchange of the articles, and get the peace proclaimed, because he was thereby sure to make himself master of all the strong holds then possessed by the Irish, and on the other hand, that he should not be concluded by it, if he found his interest the other way, because his power was recalled before the articles were exchanged ; and upon this account he proceeds to conclude the peace, and gets it proclaimed in August following.

But the Pope's Nuncio, and the prelates then convened at Waterford, seeing that his majesty had disowned the earl of Clanmorgan's commission and proceedings with them, on which they solely relied as to the affairs of the church, and finding no sufficient provision made in that peace for liberty of conscience or the Catholic religion, they openly protested against it, and withal they issued forth a comminatory excommunication against the acceptors of it, as being guilty of wilful perjury : because in the beginning of their association, an oath* was framed for their better union, and taken by all the confederates, that none of them would accept of any terms of peace without the consent of the rest, in a general assembly of the whole nation, which ordinarily met

* See Castlehaven's Memoirs.

once a year, to settle all public affairs. This wrought so much upon the officers of the army, and the gentry of the whole kingdom, that the peace was generally rejected; whereupon Ormond, who in hopes of being received pursuant to the peace, had come as far as Kilkenny, thought convenient to retire hastily to Dublin, soon after the general assembly of the confederates met, where the articles of the peace were fully examined, and after several debates rejected for the reasons aforesaid; and the commissioners who concluded the same, as having exceeded their commission, were censured and imprisoned.

During these transactions the Scottish army were bargaining with the English parliament about the disposal of the king's person, to whom they sold him at last for two hundred thousand pounds sterling, on the 8th of February, 1646, and in a few months afterwards, Ormond delivered up Dublin, the king's sword, and all the ensigns of royalty there, to commissioners from the parliament, for which good service he was presented by them in London with a chain and medal of gold, together with £13,000 sterling in money, as the earl of Anglesey, one of the commissioners, afterwards publicly averred.

In the mean time,* the confederate Catholics went on vigorously with the war against the parliamentarians, and possessed themselves entirely of all Ireland, except Dublin and Londonderry ; and being informed that the king was made a close prisoner in England, and that his son the prince of Wales forced to fly into France, whither his queen had sometime before withdrawn herself, they sent the marquis of Antrim to lord Muskerry's agents thither, to signify to the queen and prince, their willingness to conclude a peace, in order to contribute as far as in them lay, to free the king from his misfortunes ; whereupon Ormond, who happened to be there at that time, returned into Ireland, about Michaelmas, 1648, and concludes the peace with the general assembly of the confederates on the 17th of January following, commonly called the peace of 48.

This peace was immediately received by all the confederate Catholics, except a small party headed by Owen Roe O'Neil, who being only a soldier of fortune, but confessedly the best commander they had in the kingdom, held out because they unadvisedly refused to give him any considerable post in the army, until Ormond after he was shamefully surprised and routed before Dub-

* The Peace of 48.

lin, (August 2, 1649,) and Cromwell landing there in a few weeks after, with a strong reinforcement, was glad to give his own terms when it was too late ; whereupon he and his party submitted to the peace, pursuant to a special treaty concluded on the 12th of the ensuing October, and then all the confederates joined heart and hand, against the parliamentarians : but Owen Roe unfortunately dying soon after, there was none left able to make head against Cromwell ; who therefore carried all before him wherever he went, with little or no opposition, but what Hugh Duff O'Neil gave him at Clonmel, where he lost nearly as many men as he did in gaining the rest of the kingdom, and would have lost a great many more, and gone at last without it, had not the people of Waterford failed to send the garrison ammunition as they had promised.

Nevertheless, the confederates struggled hard to the last, and though they were offered most of their estates and other advantageous terms, as the case then stood, by the rump parliament, if they would submit to them and renounce the king's interest ; yet they unanimously rejected all in their general assembly at Loughrea, in the winter of 1650, and never laid down arms until they were reduced to an impossibility of continuing the war any longer, in the year 1653.

The most of the army choosing rather to quit their native country, than to live under the Usurper's power ; and being resolved to spend the remainder of their days in their prince's service, made conditions to go into foreign countries, especially France and Spain ; and the rest, who by reason of their age, charge or sickness, were necessitated to stay behind, suffered extremely. For the common soldiers and great numbers of the country people were sold by wholesale for slaves into the West Indies, to the number of fifteen or twenty thousand souls : and the officers with the rest of the Catholic gentry of the kingdom, were all commanded to go over the river Shannon, into the province of Connaught and county of Clare, thence not to return upon pain of death, without special license, where they were daily exposed to all manner of insolence, oppression and cruelty, from the petty tyrants domineering over them.

Cromwell in the mean time, whether in hopes to gain upon the Irish, or at least to make some show of justice towards them, ordered a court* of claims to be erected at Athlone, where all Catholics that could prove themselves innocent of the rebellion, or came within such qualifications as he

* The Athlone Court of Claims.

prescribed, were allowed for their subsistence, to enjoy certain proportions of land in the province of Connaught, and county of Clare, that is, some a fourth, others a third part, according to their several qualifications, and some few perhaps, the one half of the number of acres they were elsewhere possessed of in 1641 : yet the said petty tyrants were not well pleased at this small favor, but the contrary ; believing that their own ill acquisitions could not securely last, while the former proprietors were in being, they often consulted among themselves and were within an ace of resolving to massacre them all at once, men, women and children ; which they had certainly done, but that the over-ruling hand of Providence averted the blow.

In this most dismal condition, the Irish continued for several years, racked with daily apprehensions of the dangers that hung over their heads, and having no comfort under Heaven, but the hopes to see the happy day of their prince's restoration, which they doubted not but would redeem them from their present captivity, and restore them to the inheritance of their fathers' estates. But how far they were deceived and disappointed in these, their reasonable hopes, shall be the subject of another discourse.

SECOND PART.

“The King that judgeth the Poor in truth, his Throne shall be established for ever.” PROV. xxix. 14.

“Wo to them that make wicked laws : and when they write, write injustice to oppress the poor in judgment, and do violence to the cause of the humble of my people, that widows might be their prey, and that they might rob the fatherless.” ISAIAH x. 1, 2.

In the foregoing discourse, we have taken a short view of the several revolutions that have happened in Ireland, from the first year of Queen Elizabeth's to the last of Cromwell's Usurpation ; during which time we have partly seen how religion was made a stalking horse to violence and rapine, and how gospel liberty was turned into all manner of licentiousness ; whereby the men in power might oppress and plunder their neighbors, without any more remorse, than if they had the same warrant from heaven, which the Israelites received by the hands of Moses, to run away with the spoil of the Egyptians.

Upon the whole matter, I think it very evident, that Tyrone's* taking arms was so far from being a rebellion, either by the laws of God, or the fundamental laws of the land, that it was rather a necessary self-defence

* Tyrone's War was no rebellion.

against the unwarrantable attempts of Queen Elizabeth, who had not only usurped the crown from Queen Mary of Scotland, but also endeavored, after an arbitrary manner to encroach upon the people's civil and religious rights, contrary to all laws both human and divine. And as for that Earl's having in King James's time fled out of the kingdom upon St. Laurence's treacherous information, it may be reckoned a sin against prudence, which may oblige an honest man to stand to the defence of his own innocence, honor and reputation, even with the hazard of his life. But it cannot be called a treasonable crime, or an act that proved him guilty of having had ill designs against the crown. Nevertheless, since there was no positive, though in reality a perjured witness to swear to the accusation, and that both he and the Earl of Tyrconnel fled for the same, it must be owned that there were grounds enough for attaining them by act of parliament, which could not legally have been done, had they stood their trial.

But as to the Insurrection of 1641,* there is no doubt but the letter of the law makes it rebellion. Subjects under a lawful monarch, whether jointly or severally

* The troubles in 1641, not so criminal in the Irish, as in their neighbors.

considered, are still by our laws but so many private persons, and therefore can never take upon themselves any public authority without a special commission from the prince. Yet if we appeal to the supreme court of inquiry, and then consider the nature of man, and all the provoking circumstances of that business, together with the powerful instinct of self-preservation, called by the Romans* “*Orator, non scripta, sed nata Lex. ad quam non docti sed sacti non instituti, sed imbuti sumus,*” a great deal may be said at least to excuse their proceedings ; which in comparison of the barefaced causeless rebellion, carried on at the same time by the English and Scotch republicans, not only against the King’s authority and commission, but even against his person, and the very being of his monarchy, cannot seem but a very slender peccadillo, which bears no more proportion to the other, than does the smallest molehill to the Peak of Teneriffe.—There never was under a legal government, any insurrection more necessary for self-preservation, and consequently more excusable, if we except the aforesaid outrages committed by the unruly rabble, than that of 1641 ; and on the other side, no subjects ever labored more to retrieve what the vigor of

* Cicero Orat. pro Milone.

the law might constitute amiss in their actions, than the Irish Catholics. They held out but about twenty-two months, and in all that time they never intended to stand out against the King, but to secure themselves against the Parliamentary Lords Justices; who did so plainly abuse his Majesty's authority, to the prejudice of himself and his loyal subjects in that kingdom, and in favor of rebels in England, that the Irish believed they could not do the King better service than to oppose them, and thereby prevent their doing any more mischief. For proof hereof, as soon as the Justices were removed, the confederate Irish made a cessation with the Earl of Ormond, in order to conclude a lasting peace, which was equally desired by prince and people; but these good wishes through the sinister practices of intermediate agents, or other fatalities, were ineffectual for that time.

Nevertheless, a solemn peace was at last concluded, on the 17th day of January, 1648, which the Irish not only received unanimously, but sealed with their blood; having pursuant to it, maintained a war against the Parliamentary Regicides for three years successively; and when all their strong holds were lost, continued a mountain war, for a year after, in hopes of receiving some relief from the King. But

that expectation failing, they were obliged to lay down arms ; yet because they could not endure to live under the tyranny of those miscreants, who had imbrued their hands in their prince's blood, most of them made conditions to go beyond the sea, and accordingly some got into France, others into Spain, to the number of twenty-five or thirty thousand effective men : and for as much, as their main design was to render their sovereign that service abroad, which they were no longer able to do at home, they no sooner landed in foreign countries, than they flocked from all parts as fast as they could, to attend their prince's commands. For this reason they left the Spanish service while the King remained in France, but quitted the French as soon as he thought fit to retire into the Spanish Netherlands. And it is very certain that this flocking of the Irish about his majesty, at that time, when he was in a manner abandoned by all the rest of his subjects, rendered him much the more considerate among strangers, and gained him most of his friends during the dismal time of his banishment.

The loyalty of the Irish is truth not to be denied by any man in his wits, for there are still many living witnesses of it ;* and the

* When this part was written.

King himself soon after his restoration, partly owned it in his speech to the Parliament, on the 27th of July, 1660, when he expressed himself in these words :—" I hope I need say nothing of Ireland, that they alone should be without the benefit of my mercy : they have shewed much affection to me abroad, and you will have a care of my honor and what I have promised them."—And again on the 30th of November following, in his *declaration for the Settlement of Ireland*, he says :—" In the last place we did and must always remember, the great affection a considerable part of that nation expressed to us, during the time of our being beyond the seas, when with all the cheerfulness and obedience they received and submitted to our orders, and betook themselves to that service, which we directed as most convenient and behoofeful, at the time to us, though attended with inconvenience enough to themselves, which demeanor of theirs cannot but be thought very worthy of our protection, justice and favor."

Let us now consider on the other side, what great protection, justice or favor, have the Irish received for all their unparalleled loyalty, thus owned and attested by the King himself in the face of the world. The main question was then whether the Crom-

wellians, who, like so many blood hounds, hunted Charles I. to the scaffold, and chased Charles II. out of his dominions, should still enjoy the estates they got in Ireland, for their signal services against the crown ; or be obliged to surrender them to their former proprietors, who had signalized their loyalty in so extraordinary a manner, and had lost their said estates for their faithful adherence to the royal interest, and besides were most justly entitled to them by the public faith of a solemn peace at home, and the King's repeated promises abroad.

It is true his Majesty did, in the beginning, express himself very resolute for doing justice to the latter, but the craft and corruption of some grandees about him, wrought upon him by degrees, to give way, and at last to abandon those to their enemies, who never abandoned him in his greatest misfortune. "*Be astonished, O ye Heavens, at this !*" (Jer. ii. 12.) Was there ever any act parallel to it read or heard of since the creation ? an act so little becoming a great and generous prince, so contrary to common justice, and to the most sacred ties of human societies ; and withal so impolitic, entailing perpetual factions and rebellions upon his successors, by the hopes it gives to desperate needy people to make their fortunes the same way, and by the mortal damp

it strikes upon loyalty ; so prodigious an example of ingratitude being a sufficient warning to others not to venture their all upon the like account, that it shocks a man's understanding to think what could be the meaning of it.

Histories indeed furnish us with examples enough, how princes have often found it necessary for the quiet of their dominions, to pardon their submitting rebels, and restore them to their former possessions, and perhaps with some marks of favor ; nay sometimes to discharge them of their subjection, and declare them a free people, when they would not otherwise be quiet, as the King of Spain did to the Dutch, upwards of one hundred years ago ; and there is no doubt, but a sovereign may lawfully do all this, because in such cases he himself is the only loser, and may part with his own right when he pleases, or at least when the necessities of his affairs require it. But that a King should not only pardon and reward the rebels upon their returning to their duty, but reward them with the birth-right of such as adhered to him to the last, with the hazard of their lives and limbs, against those very rebels, is so unaccountable a procedure, that we can find no precedent for it in any history, sacred or profane.

But the King (says one) could in policy

do no less, considering what great numbers of his subjects were then disaffected to his government, and the great arrears due to the army in Ireland, which he promised to pay. Very fine policy indeed ! Must policy, then, which is the quintessence of refined reason, and the noblest and most heroic of all moral perfections, be thus profaned and debased, to gild over the failures of vicious or misled princes, which in the true art of government, was even among the heathens reckoned so great and so excellent a quality, that the prince of Latin poets thought he could not bestow a higher compliment upon his country than to make it peculiar to the Romans, in the sixth book of the Eneid, when he speaks to this purpose :

“ While others may in other arts excel,
Romans mind yours, and govern nations well ;
To give the laws of peace belongs to you,
To spare the humble, and the proud subdue.”

But among Christians, who boasted indeed of greater perfection, and yet happen very often to practice less this noble and sublime virtue, is made a cloak for all the corruptions of depraved nature ; and is reduced to little tricks and cunning touches to serve a present turn, without the least regard to honor, honesty or conscience. Hence Henry the IV. of France had rea-

son to say, (only that out of modesty he reckoned himself, but in truth had too great a soul to be of the number,)

“ Nous autres Rois sommes des grands Coquins.”

Let us, nevertheless, consider this a little further. If it was so very politic to continue the parliamentarians of Ireland in their new acquisitions, for exasperating the disaffected party, why were not their brethren in England and Scotland continued in theirs also for the same reason? Or was that party in Ireland so very formidable, beyond those of the other kingdom, that their friendship must be purchased at such an extravagant rate? If the King obliged himself by his declaration from Breda, to satisfy the arrears due to the officers and soldiers under the command of General Monk, why might not this as well be done in Ireland by public taxes as well as in the other kingdoms, without stripping such a vast number of widows and orphans, (whose cry reaches daily to Heaven) of their livelihood, and so many thousands of loyal gentlemen of their ancient birth-right, contrary to public faith, and the interest of the crown?

No, this plain and palpable injustice, cannot be called the effect of any policy in the King; for nothing could be more impolitic

or more contrary to his honor and interest ; but it was a formed design of some of his ministers, and other leading men, who then pretended to be zealous converts to loyalty, but who, like *Æsop's cat*, could not forget the old trade of mousing. For, the true reason why the Irish were so unequally dealt with, was that they were all Catholics, never tainted with any republican principles, and not only had much diverted the parliamentary forces while they were running down the King, but had given him strong apprehensions of turning the scales. It was therefore determined by these *Machiavels*, as a point of the last consequence for securing their ends, that such people should now be suppressed ; (for which reason the poor cavaliers were sent a grazing with *Nebuchadnezzar*, without either pay or gratuity) lest they might be in a condition, for the time to come to stand up against the party for the rights of the crown, in case of any future revolution. And the plot being thus laid, the better to compass it without a noise, a parcel of needy half-starved courtiers, then followed the King abroad, and had his ear at will, several of them being his chief privy counsellors and privadoes, were gained by great promises, either of large scopes of Irish land, or round sums of English money, to join in the design ; who

therefore buzzing night and day in his Majesty's ear, wrought upon him at last to grant their desires, to the ruin of the Irish Catholics, whose religion, lands and loyalty were crimes too great to be endured by such atheistical covetous men.

The King then is blameless you will say, since he followed the advice of his council and chief courtiers. Very far from it : for as our Saviour says—“ *If the blind lead the blind both shall fall into the ditch.*” (Matthew.) That is, not only the guide, but the guided likewise must suffer ; and consequently not only the ill adviser, but the ill advised also, is answerable for the wrongs committed. Had God indeed appointed such counsellors to advise with, a great deal might be said in his behalf, although when old Adam offered a plea much to that purpose, (Gen. iii. 12,) alleging that which the wise God had gained him, made him eat of the forbidden fruit, it is believed that this plea did rather aggravate, than abate his guilt. But when a prince has it in his own power, and consequently is, in justice to himself and his people, obliged to choose to the best of his knowledge, honest and conscientious counsellors, to advise with ; if he act contrary, his following their dictates is so far from excusing him, that he is accountable in the sight of God both for their

unjust advice, and his own bad choice. For by this he exposes himself to evident danger of being misled, and "*he that loves the danger* (saith the son of Syrach, Eccles. iii. 27) *shall perish in it.*" As for the other part, I think it is no great matter for one, whether he marches towards Hell of his own will, or is led thither by others, if he arrive there in the long run.

A prince, therefore, who seriously minds his business, and has God before his eyes, must not, as to the weighty affairs of his government, rely upon the bare opinion of frail men, though ever so able or learned ; because they are still subject to be biassed the wrong way ; but ought rather to carefully examine the grounds of such opinions, and not suffer his own judgment to be overborne, at least in matters of moment, more by others importunities than their argument ; as King Charles I. expresses it, in his *Icon Basilike*,* where he reflects on some fatal

* " I resolved to reform, that I should by free and full advice in parliament, be convinced to be amiss and to grant whatever my reason and conscience told me was fit to be desired. I wish I had kept myself within those bounds, and not suffered my own judgment to have been overborne in some things, more by others importunities than their arguments, my confidence had less betrayed myself and my kingdoms to those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasions to do mischief." *ICON BASIL.* Chap. I.

mistakes of this kind committed by himself. As reason, being an emanation of the divinity, has of itself no false bias, but tends always towards truth, as the seaman's needle does to the north pole ; so that it is not very difficult for a serious enquirer to distinguish between true and false reasons, in matters of right and wrong when both are plainly laid before him. But if, instead of making a due inquiry into the truth, he hears only one party, or leaves the decision of justice to a sort of lottery, as a gamester ventures his guinea at hazard, there is no reasoning in that case, but to leave him to take his chance ; whether he shall be miserable or happy, whether Heaven or Hell shall be his portion.

Yet this is not to be understood as if the punishment of public injustice were always reserved for the world to come ;* for we find that even in this life signal judgments have fallen very often upon such offenders, though not so frequently upon themselves as upon their posterity, even to the third and fourth generations : of which we have a most remarkable instance in the case of the Gibeonites, (Joshua, iii. 4—15,) who by a plain trick surprised Joshua into a promise of sparing their lives ; and when that

* Public injustice calls for public vengeance.

was discovered, were content to become hewers of wood and drawers of water to the Israelites rather than be extirpated ; nevertheless, Saul, out of a very good motive, in appearance, that is, out of zeal to the children of Israel, (Sam. xxi. 1, 2,) as it is expressly remarked in the holy scriptures, took an occasion to destroy these miserable slaves, although himself and his son Jonathan came soon after to an untimely end; yet so far was that heavy judgment from satisfying the Divine Justice, that in king David's time, the hand of God came upon the whole country, for three years together, and was not taken off until seven of Saul's posterity were sacrificed, to atone for the cruelties by him committed upon the poor Gibeonites, contrary to the public faith given them by Joshua. There is no doubt but God is infinitely merciful, and it is well for us all that he is so ; yet he does not pardon all crimes alike ; for private or personal offences he is very apt to forgive upon a sincere repentance, but national injuries he never forgives without full and ample reparation.

But enough of this point at present, let us now take a view of the very machine which has completed the mystery of iniquity, I mean the wicked acts of settlement, which was, indeed, a settlement of rebels

and traitors, but the ruin of loyal subjects. This idol, this great Diana of the Ephesians, consists of several parts, viz : First—The king's declaration for the settlement of Ireland. Second—His instructions for the said declarations. Third—The act itself, or the parliament's worthy comment upon both. And in the rear of all comes up the dragon's tail, the famous act of explanation. Where it is to be observed, that the Cromwellians of Ireland were so sensible of the unreasonableness of what they gained at long run, that they had not the face to propose it in the beginning ; but working like moles under ground, and by degrees growing bold with their unexpected success, they gained at length three times more than they would have freely compounded for upon the king's restoration. This is the true reason why the whole settlement is but a continued series of contradictions ; so palpably repugnant, the one to the other, that the wit of man cannot reconcile them. In the declaration there are several clauses, which tended so far to do justice to the Irish, that if these had been made good, many thousands of natives would of course have been restored. To prevent, therefore, so dangerous a piece of justice, the instructions were soon after designedly framed to restrain the latitude in the declaration ; and

most of the favorable clauses then remaining were cut short by the several provisions inserted in the act ; and last of all, the small gleanings then left were entirely swept away by the explanation by which all were barred for ever, except a few proviso men mentioned in the act, and some others, who a little before had the good luck to pass the trial of ordeal in the court of claims.

The Irish Catholics who then expected to be restored to their former possessions, were under three several qualifications. First—the innocents who never bore arms with the confederates before the peace of 1684 was concluded. Second—those they call ensignmen, who had served beyond sea under his majesty's ensigns during his exile. And Lastly—such of the confederates as were entitled to claim the benefit of public faith, engaged to them by the said peace. The king was fully resolved to do justice to all these, for as to the innocents, their very enemies had not impudence enough to offer any thing against their being restored. As to the ensignmen, they deserved so well of the king abroad, and their services were so fresh in his memory, that none durst move directly to have them excluded ; and even for the rest who had nothing to plead but the peace of 1648, so sensible was his majesty of the indispensable obligations that lay

upon him, both in honor and conscience, to make good the said peace, that he caused a clause to be inserted in the declaration, in these words :—" We could not forget the peace that ourselves were afterwards necessitated to make with our Irish subjects, in the time when they who wickedly usurped the authority in this kingdom had erected that odious court for the taking away the life of our dear father. And therefore we could not but hold ourselves obliged to perform what we owe by that peace to those who had honestly and faithfully performed what they had promised to us."—Irish Statutes, p. 506.

On the other side, the Cromwellians and their hired partizans at court, finding the king so resolute in the matter, and not daring directly to oppose such honorable and king-like intentions, seemed to go along with him in the same sentiments, but as they went this politic tour a-la-mode, they cunningly contrived to put such rubs in his way as brought him insensibly to their own point ; for, in the first place, they made his majesty believe, and laid it as a fundamental maxim, that there was forfeited lands more than enough in Ireland to satisfy all just pretenders. Then they represented that it was but reasonable that by the new interests Protestants should be first provid-

ed for, at least, that they should be settled next after the innocent Papists.

And these two points being granted and established as the foundation of the whole fabric, the wildest sectarians and rankest fanatics in the three kingdoms, who had nothing of christianity but the name, having always been as atheistical in religion as antimonarchial in government, became all of a sudden under this protestant cloak, the darlings of both church and state. A most blessed reformation.

Now these Protestants who were thus to be secured of new estates in Ireland, were likewise of three sorts : First, the adventurers, who, for dog-cheap bargains of Irish lands, advanced several sums of money in London upon the credit of the acts 17 and 18 Charles, for reducing the rebels in that kingdom : the most part of which money, instead of its being sent into Ireland, was employed by the rebel parliament to raise that army which sought the king at Edgehill, and that by the adventurer's own consent, then sitting at Grocer's Hall. This was no secret, but so well known to King Charles I. who caused it to be objected to the parliament commissioners, at the treaty of Uxbridge, that in all his proposals and treaties of pacification with his confederate Irish, he never made the least mention of

the adventurers' titles to any lands in that kingdom, which certainly so just a prince as he was known to be, would never have passed in silence, had he believed there lay the least obligation upon him by the said acts to make any provision for that interest. And King Charles II. was no less sensible of the nullity of their title, as appears by his very declaration, where he says, "In the first place, in order to a settlement of that interest claimed by the adventurers, although the present estates and possessions they enjoy, if examined by the strict letters of the law, would prove very defective and invalid, as being no ways pursuant to those acts of parliament, upon which they pretended to be found, &c."—Irish Statutes p. 507.

Nevertheless, let their crimes be ever so great, and their title ever so invalid, or so unreasonable, secured they must be in all their possessions, and not only such advantages as advanced their money upon the credit of the aforesaid statutes, but even those of all doubling ordinance, who, upon the bare votes or orders of the rump parliament, zealously advanced very considerable sums, on purpose to carry on that horrible rebellion against the King in England, are put upon an equal footing with the former, and both secured of large estates, for one or two years purchase.—Irish Statutes p. 559. The debenturer's title.

Secondly, Cromwell's soldiers, to whom indeed that tyrant was much obliged, because with the rest of their tribe in England they raised him from a mean condition to the absolute master of three kingdoms, for which service he gave twelve entire counties of Ireland, to be divided among them ; yet this he intended only by way of mortgage, until their arrears were paid ; for he never would give them any sort of letters patent for those estates, or any other grant than during pleasure ; which the soldiers knew so well, that as fast as they could find purchasers, they sold their interest for a song, and others became rich by the bargain ; because now by the declaration, ~~they~~ and their assigns are secured in their possessions, which are settled upon them, not for any limited time, but to them and their heirs forever. A very noble reward indeed from a king, for fighting against his crown, when those that fought for it to the last, were stripped and sent a begging. A reward which these rebels could never expect from Cromwell himself, who designed after a while to dispose of these twelve counties, for other ends of his own ; and certainly he could not but dispose of them to a better purpose than the declaration has done.

Thirdly, the officers who had served the king in Ireland at any time before the 5th

of June, 1649, whose arrears were summed up by themselves to eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. This most extravagant bill of accounts, whereof the tenth part could not be possibly due, was very readily allowed of by the adventurers and soldiers, whose maxim was, claw me, and I will claw you. They wisely considered, that several of these forty-nine officers had some color of merit, while themselves had none to pretend to, and for that reason, they thought it necessary to bring them into play, in order to give the better gloss to their proceedings and to strengthen their interest. In consideration thereof, and of the said pretended arrears, (while the brave and truly loyal cavaliers of England received besides the noisy grant of a ridiculous lottery, but seventy thousand pounds for all their faithful services during the war, and their great sufferings under the usurpation,) our forty-nine officers were most liberally allowed all the forfeited lands of four counties, and within a mile of the Shannon or of the Sea, in the province of Connaught, and County of Clare, and all the forfeited houses and tenements, in the several walled towns and corporations in the kingdom, not already set out to adventurers or soldiers, together with the right of redemption of mortgages, statutes staple, judgments, &c. belonging

to Catholics, and over and above all this, a hundred thousand pounds sterling, in ready money, upon a very frivolous account, although it was well known that most of these officers, thus bountifully rewarded, either were in actual rebellion, in the summer of 1649, and for many years before, as the Earl of Orrery, Earl of Mountrath, Lord Kingston, Lord Coloony, Sir Theophilus Jones, Sir Oliver St. George, Sir John Cole and several others, or did soon after desert the king's army and join with the usurper ; for which good service they were gratefully recompensed by Cromwell, with large debenture lands, or other equivalent gratuities. Yet this signified nothing against them upon his majesty's restoration, for not only such of the said forty-nine officers as deserted the king's standard, but even those who were treacherously instrumental in the betraying of several considerable towns and garrisons into the usurper's hands, were by the act of settlement allowed their arrears, if within two years after the act they could make it appear to the chief government of Ireland, or any six of the council, that they made some repair for their former faults, by their timely and seasonable appearance for the king's restoration. (Irish Statutes p. 581.) We may be sure, very slight repairs were thought sufficient to atone for these

venial slips of our reformed saints, for, even as in John Calvin's new system of divinity, "let the Elect commit ever so great enormities they are still blameless, still babes of grace, because no sin can be imputed to them ;" so it seems, let our godly reformers be engaged ever so much in the blackest treason, they may pass for his majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, and never be treated like rebels, but rather rewarded as if they had done their prince good service. But the "reprobate papists" are still to be damned to this world, let them be ever so innocent or signalize their loyalty ever so much. And therefore, although the declaration (Irish Stat. p. 509,) made no distinction of forty-nine officers, whether protestant or papist, but ordered that all should be satisfied equally for their arrears, yet, (Irish Stat. p. 588,) by the instructions and subsequent acts of parliament, the papists, (except the marquis of Clanrickard and Sir George Hamilton, who through favor, got particular provisoes, (Irish Stat. p. 879, 888) were utterly excluded, notwithstanding that none of them ever deserted the king's standard, but held out to the last against the usurper.

The late king being thus far wrought and strangely imposed upon, to reward his inveterate enemies, who now became great by

being thorough paced rebels, it is needless to wonder that he has made no better provision for his known friends. Yet certain it is that his majesty was so far from intending to deprive the Catholics of Ireland of their birth-right, that he was fully resolved at first to do them all the justice imaginable; and would have certainly done it, but that he was perfidiously circumvented by those he confided in; who, notwithstanding all their pretended loyalty, did always prefer their own ends before their prince's interest, and therefore took all possible care to obstruct his majesty's good intentions towards his Irish subjects.

In the first place, because the innocents were the only Catholics restorable without previous reprisals, they framed ten or eleven qualifications to render in a manner impossible for any Irish Catholic to be adjudged innocent, and got the same inserted in his majesty's instruction for the execution of the said declaration, as the ground work to all their proceedings. In the very first of these qualifications (Ibid p. 525,) it is established, "That none should be restored as an innocent papist, who being of full age and sound memory, enjoyed his estate, real or personal in the rebels quarters." By which clause alone we may easily judge of the rest; and to discover what little justice

the Irish were to expect. For, upon this account, not only those that lived peaceable in the country, and never took up arms on the one side or the other, but also such of them as were actually in the king's service in England, if they received but the least benefit out of their estates in Ireland at any time during the war, were not to be deemed innocent, and their estates conferred upon those who at the same time zealously fought against the king.

For the trial of these innocents under the several qualifications aforesaid, a court of claims was erected in Dublin, after the mode framed by Cromwell in the year 1654, for the transplantees of Connaught and the County of Clare, with this difference, that the usurper's court was much the more impartial of the two. For, in the first, whether the Cromwellians wanted money to suborn witnesses, or were not so well acquainted with the profligate wretches, who were ready to earn their bread with the sweat of their conscience, few of those mercenary villains were produced, in comparison with the latter, where they appeared in great shoals, and wanted not the countenance and favor of the court. And in the former, the few catholics that moved for a transplanted interest, were not stinted in point of time to make out their claims ; but

in the latter, six months were hardly allowed for hearing all the claimants in the kingdom ; for the court sat but on the 15th day of February, 1622-3, and ended about the middle of August following, during which time nearly a thousand Catholics came to trial, and not less than one half were decreed innocent. Notwithstanding all the rigid qualifications and suborned witnesses against them, who appeared in such swarms that it would require a large volume to give even a summary account of all their villainous practices upon this occasion ; for which reason I think it needless to descend to particulars. Yet one instance I cannot omit, because the gentleman himself is still living and at this time* in France, and has at least one living witness of the injustice done him now at the court of St. Germain, Mr. Francis Betagh of Moynalty, whose ancestors for seven or eight hundred years together, were in the possession of a considerable estate in the county of Meath, was but nine years old in October, 1641 ; yet he was sworn in the court of claims to have been then in actual rebellion at the head of a foot company ; plundering and stripping the Protestants, and that by two of the meanest scoundrels in the kingdom, hired for that

* When this part was written.

purpose, whereof one was then and there proved not to have been three years old at the time of that insurrection ; and the other no way qualified to be believed, when the gentry of the whole country declared and testified the contrary. Nevertheless, upon the bare oaths of these fellows, the gentleman was adjudged innocent by the court, and although the perjury was afterwards more fully detected, in so much that Sir Rich Ransford, (chief commissioner or judge of the court,) where the Marchioness of Antrim expostulated the matter with him, plainly acknowledged the injustice of it to herself, to the new earl of Limerick, and to the other persons of quality, yet no redress could be had for the gentleman, or any remedy expected, while the enchantment of the act of settlement was in force.

By these abominable practices some hundreds of ancient and loyal gentlemen were stripped of their birth-right by the poisonous breath of profligate wretches : but the matter of 700* claimants more that remained, could not obtain justice or satisfaction, as to have this very chance of the inheritance of their fathers ; although they had as much right to be heard as the other, because every one is to be reputed innocent,

* The Catholics condemned unheard.

until he is proved guilty ; yet they were then put off for want of time, and never allowed any sort of *trial* from that day to this ; but rather to cut off all future hopes, a new act was soon after framed, called the act of explanation, very remarkable for the following clause, by which they are forever debarred : “ It is hereby declared, that no person or persons, who by the qualifications in the said former act hath not been judged innocent, shall at any time hereafter be reputed innocent, so as to claim any lands or tenements hereby vested, or be admitted to have any benefit or allowance of any future adjudication of innocence, or any benefit of articles whatsoever.”—Irish Stat. p. 800.

After this unchristian, or rather inhuman usage to so many thousands of innocent persons who were thus condemned unheard, a practice never known among civilized heathens, it cannot seem very strange that the loyal ensignmen were ungratefully dealt with for all their signal services and sufferings during the king’s exile. It is true, his majesty was resolved, as before hinted, to do justice to all his Irish subjects, especially his ensignmen and some other deserving persons, for whom he caused a particular proviso to be inserted in the declaration. But the cabal, to render his good intention ineffectual, having first possessed

his majesty with the fancy that he had more than enough of forfeited lands in Ireland to satisfy all just pretenders, obtained the small favor of their dear adventurers and soldiers, who were undoubtedly very worthy men in old Shaftsbury's dialect, that they should not be removed for any ensignman, or deserving person whatsoever before they were assigned reprisals of equal value and purchase, which they well knew was not to be had in Europe, as matters were managed, unless Obrasile was discovered or a new Ireland created. And having that main point, which put a padlock upon all the favors intended by the king for the aforesaid loyalists, they got this wonderful reason to pass for it in the declaration : " The Irish for whom we do hereby intend satisfaction, are such who have been abroad with us, who probably being not furnished with stock or other provisions, may with less inconvenience wait for a reprisal than to dispossess others," (who no doubt had by that time well feathered their nests, by their ill-got estates, though poor enough, as became pitiful mechanics, coming out of England,) " especially, since we are fully assured that a very short time will assign them their respective reprisals ; there being so good and large proportions of undisposed and forfeited lands in our power reserved for this pur-

pose," (Irish Statutes, page 517,) which sublime fancy is in plain English to this effect: "Because the Cromwellians of Ireland are of late used to fare very well, having acquired by fighting against me plentiful estates and considerable stocks to live upon, it is not convenient to disturb them ; but my ensignmen having quitted all at home and cheerfully endured starving and several other hardships, to serve me abroad, it is reasonable therefore they should starve on until I provide for them on Doomsday." I must confess, I cannot possibly believe that the late king intended to use these loyalists after so strange a manner ; but that they were actually served so is undeniable. Neither can any prince, who suffers himself to be led by such wicked counsellors, reasonably expect to do better.

Now as soon as the cabal had gained this single point, that the adventurers and soldiers should not be removed without previous reprisals, their next great business was, to take care that no reprisals should be left, and consequently none of the said deserving persons ever restored, to the end that this usage might for the future prove an encouragement to their own party to pursue their good old cause and a warning piece to others not to play the fool for loyalty.

To complete therefore so material a project, matters were so cunningly contrived by them, that all the undisposed forfeited lands were given away in most prodigal grants to Ormond, Anglesey, Orrery, Coote, Kingston and other grandees, and great portions for uses, forsooth, to make themselves *friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness*, (Luke 16,) of which the College of Dublin, and several free schools, their bishops, and others of their clergy had considerable shares, besides a great many gifts and grants to others who were no way qualified by the declaration to have any such provision made for them. And all this was industriously carried on, as I hinted before, to the end that the stock of reprisals might be so far exhausted, that nothing should be left to reprise the Cromwellians, who, without such reprisals, were not to budge, or quit their possession of these gentlemen's estates, whom the king intended to restore, either as officers that served him abroad or special proviso men, or as persons entitled to the peace of forty-eight ; which wicked contrivance took so effectually, that not one man of all these was restored to his birth-right notwithstanding all the fair promises given and the seeming provision made for them by the declaration ; insomuch that fifty-four nominees, who by special interest

and favor got a proviso in the act of explanation, (Irish Statutes, p. 863,) to have their respective mansion-houses or principal seats and 2000 acres of land thereunto adjoining, found themselves nominees in good earnest, that is, *Nomine restorable non re*, according to Orrery's ironical raillery ; for very few of them got any considerable advantage, and none at all, that ever I could find, the full benefit of that clause, for want of reprisals to be first assigned to the Cromwellian possessors. To make them all set their hearts at rest, and rather to deprive them of their very hopes, (Irish Stat. page 800,) the clause formerly mentioned, was inserted in the famous act of explanation, which debars them for ever of all future relief. And as a future addition to comfort, these mighty Solons, well knowing that they observe neither law or gospel in their proceedings, but that their whole fabric was a mere Babel, composed of so many incoherences, absurdities, and contradictions, that the ablest lawyers in England often declared they knew not how to ground an opinion in law upon such sandy foundations, found the way at last to make all this mist appear as clear for their purpose, as the sun at noon-day, and that with as much ease as the Macedon youth untied the gordian knot. For they only declared and enacted, that if any

doubt should arise on any clause in either of the said acts, the same should be always construed in favor of the Protestants, as being principally intended to be settled and secured.—(Irish Stat. page 828.)

This was going thorough stitch with the business, and it was indeed the finishing stroke of the whole work, which has completed the mystery of iniquity beyond all manner of dispute, and left the poor Catholics no room to demand or expect justice, at least from the Cromwellian judges and juries.

Thus were these unfortunate loyalists utterly disappointed, notwithstanding their great hopes, reasonably grounded on their many services to the king, both at home and abroad, and his majesty's repeated promise to them upon that account ; and after all their tedious and chargeable attendance about court, no other provision was made for them but to live upon the air, till God was pleased to call both them and their king to state their accounts in the other world ; where I am sure starved honesty is of greater value, than the empire of the universe either illy acquired or unjustly administered, because as king Charles I. excellently said, " As many kingdoms as the devil shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed,) are not

worth the gaining, by ways of sinful ingratitude and dishonor, which hazards a soul worth more worlds than this hath kingdoms." (Icon Basil. chap 5.) For it is a true saying, *Deus non iridetur*, (Gal vi. 7,) God is not to be laughed at by worldly greatness, but is rather provoked to deal more severely with sovereign princes for their injustice, because they are accountable to none for their actions, but to himself alone, for which reason the royal prophet thus very pathetically speaks to the Almighty : Doth the seat of iniquity stick to thee, who framest labor in commandment ? (Psal. xciv. 20.) But his wise son, king Solomon, while inspired by the Holy Ghost, treats more fully of the matter in his admirable book of wisdom, V. and VI. where he says : " Iniquity shall lay waste the whole earth and ill dealing overthrow the thrones of the mighty. Hear, therefore, ye kings, and understand ; learn ye, that are judges of the end of the earth. Give ear, you that rule the people and that please yourselves in multitudes of nations. For power is given you by the Lord, and strength by the Most High, who will examine your works, and search out your thoughts, because being ministers of his kingdom, you have not judged aright, nor kept the law of justice, nor walked according to the will of God.

Horribly and speedily will he appear to you, for a most severe judgment shall be for them who bear rule. For mercy will soon pardon the meanest, but the mighty shall be mightily tormented. For God will not accept of any man's person, neither shall he stand in awe of any man's greatness; for he hath made the little and the great and he hath equal care of all."

The consideration of this necessary point of christian doctrine, which mainly concerns all men in power, but more particularly sovereign princes, made king Charles I. express himself so feelingly about 'Strafford's illegal attainder: "I am so far," says he, (Icon Basil. chap. 2,) "for excusing or denying that compliance on my part, (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in my judgment I thought not, by any clear law guilty of death, that I never bear any touch of conscience with greater regret, which as sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and man, as an act of sinful frailty, that discovered more a fear of man than of God, whose name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconvenience of state by acts of so high injustice, as no public convenience can expiate or compensate. Nor has God's justice failed in the event and sad consequences to shew

the world the fallacy of that maxim." Better one man perish, though unjustly, than the people be displeased or destroyed. "This tenderness and regret I find in my soul for having had any hand (and that very willingly, God knows) in shedding one man's blood unjustly, though under the color and formalities of justice and pretences of avoiding public mischief."

Now, if this unfortunate King was so deeply touched, for having given way to the fury of an ungovernable faction against the life of only one man, who was undeniably guilty, although not of treason, yet of several other enormities during his government of Ireland, how much must we think he would have been concerned, had he had the misfortune of passing the unparalleled act of settlement, which wanted on the one hand such pressing motives as attended Strafford's attainder, and plainly exposed on the other, instead of one single sufferer who upon the mean was not guiltless, the lives of many thousands of innocent and loyal persons, not to a speedy death, for that would have been a sort of mercy, but to a lingering one, by avoiding unavoidable starving ? an act of accumulative injustice in plain terms, by which the worst of traitors and vilest of rebels were most prodigally rewarded, whilst loyal subjects, who had for many

years signalized themselves in the service of the crown, was not only disappointed of their deserved and promised recompense, but condemned unheard and stript of their very birth-right, to gratify their enemies. What a vast number of poor widows and orphans were sent begging ! Was not public faith most notoriously violated ! and to sum up the whole matter in a few words, justice perverted in all its branches and degrees !

There is no doubt but the late king was grossly abused and imposed upon by his wicked ministers to suffer all this injustice to pass for his act and deed ; but then the question naturally arises who obliged him to employ such ministers, or, at least, to allow them the latitude to abuse his regal authority at such a prodigious rate ? I am sure he had done infinitely better, according to him, who by a dear bought experience, found how fatal it was to a crowned-head to trust people of such principles with the weighty affairs of his government, and therefore in his last advice to the Prince of Wales, he leaves him for a legacy this most excellent lesson, “ My counsel and charge to you is, that you seriously consider the former real or objected miscarriages which might occasion any troubles that you may avoid them: Never repose so much upon

any man's single counsel, fidelity and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, that is, matters of religion and justice, as to create in yourself or others diffidence of your own judgments, which is likely to be always more constant and impartial to the interest of your crown than any man's. With an equal bounty and impartial hand distribute favors and rewards to all men, as you find them for their real goodness, both in abilities and fidelity capable of them. This will be sure to gain you the hearts of the best, and of the worst too : who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer ways of virtue at any time sweetened by temporal rewards."

These are most excellent documents indeed, vastly different from that famous maxim of old Clarendon, "make much of your enemies, and your friends will do you no harm ;" which yet being so unluckily preferred before the other, was practiced so long after the restoration, that not only such as were neutral or indifferent, but even those who till then were friends to the crown, became at last its severest enemies ; wherefore, since experience is the mother of knowledge, we cannot but conclude, that the former rule is good and solid, but the latter most pernicious to government. But

what our royal author adds, towards the conclusion of this his fatherly advice, speaks so much greatness of mind and christian resignation, I cannot in justice to his memory pass it over in silence. "If neither I or you be even restored to our rights, yet God in his severest justice will punish my subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickedness. I hope God will give me and you that grace which will teach and enable us to want as well as to wear a crown which is not worth taking up or enjoying, upon sordid, dishonorable, or irreligious terms."

Had these solid and wholesome instructions been duly observed in the last reign, neither English cavalier or Irish loyalist should now have any such cause of complaint ; nor the crown perhaps be obnoxious to such strange revolutions* as the world has of late been astonished at. And as for the excuse alleged, I think it is but a silly one for a christian prince to throw the blame of public acts of injustice upon his ministers, since it cannot be denied that he himself is answerable in the sight of God,

* A kingdom is translated from one people to another, because of injustices and wrongs, and injuries, and divers deceits, saith the son of Syrac. Eccles. x. 8.

for all the wrongs committed. For in all tribunals the principal is still accountable for the actions of his deputy. And it is a rule in reason, approved of by the very heathens, that men in power authorise those crimes which they can and will not hinder. "*Qui non vetat peccare, cum posset jubet.*" Neither is holy writ less plain in the matter; for to say nothing of king Achab, (who had no hand in the murder of Naboth, but that his name and his seal* were made use of, and yet his sentence is pronounced by God's own appointment† as if he had done all himself,) we have a dreadful example of Eli the high priest, who after he had judged Israel forty years, came to a miserable end for crimes committed not by himself, but by his reprobate children;* and as a further judgment upon him, for tolerating such wickedness in persons under his immediate care, the high priesthood was transferred to another family. This puts me in mind of a very notable passage in M. de Balzac's ingenious *Aristippus*, where having lively described, in his seventh discourse, the mischiefs too frequently committed by wicked ministers and insolvent favorites, thus finely reasons upon the matter: "All this while the prince commits no sin, yet he for-

* 1 Kings, xii. 8. † Ibid v. 16. ‡ 1 Sam. iii. 13, &c.

bears not to be guilty. His ignorance is unpardonable, his patience is no virtue, and all the disorder which either he knows not of, or which he tolerates, is imputed to him before God as if himself had committed it. With a great deal of reason, therefore, that prince was made according to God's own heart. He desires him in express terms, and that in the fervency of his most ardent prayers, that he would cleanse him from secret faults, and acquit him from the sins of others. Now, does not this last word plainly imply that kings ought not content themselves with a personal and particular innocence ; and that it matters not for them to be just as to their own actions, if they lose themselves by the injustice of their ministers?"

“ And here (continues the same Aristippus) I cannot but give an extraordinary rapture, formerly expressed to this purpose, by a religious man of Italy, in a sermon he preached before the prince of that country, wherein as he discoursed on the duties of sovereigns, he all of a sudden breaks forth in these words, addressing himself to the prince : “ Last night, sir, I had a very strange vision ; methought the earth opened before me, and I distinctly looked in the centre thereof. I considered the torments of the other life, and all that terrible train

of God's justice, since which my imagination is scarce well reassumed. 'Amongst the wicked of former ages I knew a great many of this; detractors, murderers, impious persons and hypocrites, ran thither in great troops and crowded at the brim of this gulph; but having observed in their lives the visible marks of their reprobation, I thought it not strange to see them arrive whereunto I had seen them march. What astonished me extremely above all was that I perceived your highness in this unhappy throng, which was at the brink of destruction. And even as I was thus surprised and affrighted by the novelty of such an unexpected encounter, I cried out to your highness, is it possible that a man should damn himself by praying to God, and that you should go to hell—you, sir, who are the best and most religious prince in the world? Whereupon your highness answered me with a sigh, I do not go, father, but am led thither.'

On the other side, although we should waive all thought of another life, and fancy with those mentioned in holy scripture,* or with the blind philosophers of antiquity, either that there is no divine providence, or that it takes no care of human affairs; yet if

* 14, 1. *Nubes latibulum ejus, nec nostra considerate, circa Careines Cæli per ambulet.* Job xx, 24.

we seriously consider how justice has in all ages been reputed so noble and so divine a perfection, deservedly styled by Cicero, the mistress and queen of all virtues, that not only the wisest among the heathens even held it for a fundamental maxim, *Fiat Justitia and ruat Cælum*, but even the most profligate of mankind did always love and admire it in those they dealt with ; whence it became a proverb, *Justitia etiam inter Latrones*. We cannot but still conclude, that nothing is more impolitic in a prince than to commit any public injustice, because nothing can render him more odious to his people. For, as the saying is, he threatens many that injures any ; *Multis minatur, qui facit uni injuriam* ; and as sovereigns do sometimes love the treason, yet still hate the traitor, let his services be ever so considerable, so are unjust princes hated by their subjects, even by those who are gainers by the injustice ; because this gives them reason to apprehend it may be their own turn one day or other, to be served by him in the same manner.

No king since the creation of the universe has proved so bountiful to the worst of rebels at the cost of his faithful subjects as Charles II. has to the Cromwellians of Ireland ; yet so far was this extraordinary bounty from gaining their affections, that in 1663, they

framed a general conspiracy against him, which being seasonably discovered in Dublin, was hushed for that time, with the execution of three insignificant fellows, while the ringleaders, who were thought able to break through the cob-web law, with all the rest of their fellow traitors, were fully pardoned their justly forfeited lives, and their unjustly acquired estates. But although the king forgave the plotters, they never intended to forgive him ; and, therefore about the year 1671, they fell to work again in order to renew the same design ; but that also being nipt in the bud, and stifled without any bloodshed, they thought fit to lie by for a while, until Oates' plot in 1679 inspired them with new courage. Then they appeared barefaced, and none could be more violent for unhinging the government by their sham plots, and imprudent addresses, for carrying on the anarchial bill of exclusion. When that project happily miscarried they were all ready, had the expected blow been given by the Rye-House conspirators, to join heart and hand in the extirpation of the monarchy, root and branch, in order to clear away and make room for their darling commonwealth. Behold the blessed fruits of the political maxim—" *Make much of your enemies,*" &c.

In short, we find, by the experience of all ages, "*that honesty is the best policy,*" and the only sure rule that we can walk by through the Egyptian mists of human affairs. King Charles I., however, imposed upon in the beginning of his troubles, was at last convinced of this, and of the fallacy of other maxims, when he delivered himself in these most christian expressions : " God has been pleased to send these judgments upon me, as a means to teach me that the best rule of policy is to prefer the doing of justice before all enjoyments, and the peace of my conscience before the preservation of my kingdom." (Icon Basil. chap. 2.) The case therefore being such, what shall people think of those statesmen who labor night and day to draw their sovereign out of this plain and easy road into the narrow, crooked paths of their own subtle and selfish invention ? Surely they cannot be supposed to mean well, or to have any better design than to wheedle their master into a labyrinth, where he must either quite lose himself, or forever own the obligation to their skill, if they chance to help him out of those intricacies into which themselves had inveigled him.

Upon the whole I think it but reasonable to conclude, that as there is no safer rule of policy, both for prince and people, than

to deal justly and honestly with all the world, so nothing is more necessary for sovereigns than carefully to mark and avoid those who would persuade them to steer their course by any other compass. Which in truth the wisest of monarchs was very sensible of when he pronounced that excellent sentence —“ *Take away wickedness before the face of the king and his throne shall be established with justice.*” (Prov. xxv. 5.) For it is evident, that whoever advises his prince, under the notion of political convenience, to act contrary to the known rules of justice, or to endeavor to establish his throne upon any other foundation than the natural pillars of government, due rewards and punishments impartially distributed, cannot wish his reign either prosperous or lasting, and therefore ought to be reckoned among the worst of his enemies.

THIRD PART.

“ TRUTH MUST PREVAIL.”

THE author of the preceding parts closes his historic sketch of Ireland with 1679. He records facts not only given by the most unexceptionable authors then living, but many with which he was personally acquainted. His statements are just and his reflections generally correct—but there are many facts of moment omitted.

From the reign of Charles I. to the present year, 1833, forms an important period in the annals of Ireland. To give, as far as a short history can, some of the leading features of *Ireland's Case* during that period, is our present object.

Every lover of truth, and impartial witness, must admit, that between pretended friends and declared enemies, Ireland has been cruelly misgoverned, since the days of the English invasion.

Whether we view the tyranny of Henry, the cruelty of Elizabeth, the infamy of Edward's deputies, the supineness of Charles I., the ingratitude of Charles II., or the butcheries of the ruffian Cromwell, the happiness of Ireland and the welfare of the people, were alike despised.

The Catholics of Ireland, during this period, were not only loyal, but as Plowden and other English historians say, were too subservient to their tyrannical oppressors. Hence, Morrison, a cotemporary writer, and eye witness, says of the persecution of the Catholics, during their latter reigns—“That neither the Israelites were more persecuted by Pharaoh, nor the innocent infants by Herod, nor the christians by Nero, or any of the other pagan tyrants, than were the Roman Catholics of Ireland at this fatal juncture.”

Notwithstanding this cruelty, the following address from the leading Irish Catholics stands on record as a proof of their unparalleled loyalty, and must silence forever their calumniators.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The faithful Protestation and humble Remonstrance of the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry of Ireland.

YOUR Majesty's faithful subjects, the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry of your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, out of a deep sense of those prodigious afflictions under which the monarchy of Great Britain has before your Majesty's happy restoration groaned these twenty years; and out of our sad thought, which daily bring more and more sighs from our breasts, and tears from our eyes, for not only, the still as yet continued miseries and sufferings of the Catholic natives, of that our unfortunate country, even amidst and ever since the so much famed joys and triumphs of your sacred Majesty's most auspicious inau-

guration ; but also of the causes, whereunto we have made the most narrow search we could, of those our own peculiar unparalleled calamities ; and upon reflection on that allegiance we owe, and ought by all divine and human laws, and which we are and have been always ready to swear and perform to your Majesty, our only Sovereign Lord on earth ; and on the scandal (notwithstanding) which some persons (who are unwilling to understand aright our religion) cast upon it, as if it were not consistent with all dutiful obedience, and faith to the supreme temporal magistrate ; and upon consideration likewise of a further tie of conscience on us for endeavoring as much as in us lies, to clear your Majesty's royal breast from all fears and jealousies whatsoever ; if any, peradventure, your Majesty entertain of us, through the suggestion of such as hate our communion or nation ; and to wipe off that scandal, and allay the odium under which our church hath lain this last century of years among other christian people in these nations, or a different way from ours in the worship of God. We humbly crave your Majesty's pardon to vindicate both ourselves and our Holy Belief, in that particular of our allegiance, by the ensuing protestation ; which in imitation of the late good example given by our Clergy, and pursuant to the general doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church, we make in the sight of Heaven, and in the presence of your Majesty, sincerely and truly, without equivocation or mental reservation.

“ We do acknowledge and confess your Majesty to be our true and lawful King, supreme Lord and rightful Sovereign of this Realm of Ireland, and of all other your Majesty's dominions : and therefore we acknowledge and confess ourselves to be obliged under pain of sin to obey your Majesty, in all civil and temporal affairs, as much as any other of your Majesty's subjects ; and as the laws and rules of Government in this kingdom do require at our hands. And that notwithstanding any power or pretension of the Pope, or of Rome, or any sentence or declaration of what kind or quality soever, given or to be given by the Pope, his predecessors, or by any other authority, spiritual or temporal, proceeding or derived from

him, or his See, against your Majesty or royal authority. We will still acknowledge, and perform to the utmost of our abilities, our faithful loyalty, and true allegiance to your Majesty. And we openly disclaim and renounce all foreign power, be it either papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, as far as it shall pretend to free, discharge or absolve from this obligation, or any way give us leave or license to raise tumults, bear arms, or suffer any violence to your Majesty's person, royal authority, the state or government. Being all of us ready, not only to discover and make known to your Majesty, and to your ministers, all the treasons made against your Majesty, or them, which shall come to our hearing ; but also to lose our lives in the defence of your Majesty's person, and royal authority, and to resist, with our best endeavors, all conspiracies and attempts against your Majesty, be they framed or sent under any pretence, or patronized by what foreign power or authority soever. And further, we protest that all absolute princes and supreme governors of what religion soever they be, are God's lieutenants on earth, and that the obedience is due to them according to the laws of each commonwealth, respectively, in all civil and temporal affairs. And therefore we do here protest against all doctrine and authority to the contrary. And we do hold it impious, and against the word of God, his prince, though of a different belief and religion from his. And we abhor the practice thereof as damnable and wicked.

“These being the tenets of our religion, in point of loyalty and submission to your Majesty's authority, and veneration of, or communion with, the See of Rome, in matters purely spiritual, no way violating that perfect obedience, which by our birth, by the laws of God and man, we are bound to pay to your Majesty, our natural and lawful Sovereign.”

Prostrate at your Majesty's feet we most humbly beg that all your Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland who shall, by subscription or consent, concur to this public protestation of loyalty, be protected from persecution for the profession or exercise of their religion, and all former laws upon that account, against them repealed.

Luke, Earl of Fingal	Colonel Charles Dillon
Morrogh, Earl of Inchiquin	Matthew Plunket, Esq.
Donogh, E. of Clancarty	Lt. Col. Ignatius Nugent
Oliver, E. of Tyrconnel	Col. Bryan MacMahon
Theo. E. of Carlingford	Colonel Miles Reily
Edmond, V. Mountgarret	Colonel Gilbert Talbot
Thomas, V. Dillon	Edward Plunket, Esq.
Arthur, V. Iveagh	Nicholas Plunket, Knight
William, V. Clane	M. Plunket, of Dunsany
Charles, V. Muscry	Luke Bath, Bart.
William, V. Taaffe	Chr. Plunket, of Dunsany
Oliver, Baron of Lowth	James Dillon, Knight
Wm. B. of Castle Connell	Col. Christopher Brian
Robert Talbot, Bart.	E. Dillon, of Streamstown
Ulick Burk, Bart.	J. Fleming, of Staballmock
Edward Fitz Harris, Bart.	P. Sherlock, of Gracedieu
Valentine Brown, Bart.	C. Archbold, of Timeling
Henry Slingsby, Knight	P. Moore, of Downtown
John Bellew, Knight	N. Haly, of Towrine
Colonel William Burk	Pierce Butler, of Calan
Colonel John Fitzpatrick	P. Butler, of Kellvealegher
Colonel Milo Power	J. Segrave, of Cabrah
Lieut. Colonel Pierce Lacy	R. Wadding, of Kilbarry
Lieut. Colonel Ulick Burk	T. Brown, Clandonell's Row
Lieut. Col. Thomas Scurlog	O. Cashel, of Dundalk
Esquires and Gentlemen.	P. Clinton, of Irishtown
Jeffery Brown, of Galway	Captain C. Turner
J. Walsh, of Ballynother	John Bagot
Patrick Bryan	Wm. Grace, of Donybeate
J. Fitzgerald, of Laccach	J. Arthur, of Hogestown
J. Talbot, of Malahyde	M. Laffan, of Greastown
T. Luttrell, Luttrell Town	C. Aylmer, of Belrath
J. Holliwood, of Artaine	J. Plunket, of Gibstown
Henry O'Neill, son to Sir	T. St. J. of Mortlestown
Phelim O'Neill	W. Barryoge, of Kincurran
D. Bagnal, of Dunlickney	R. Strange, Rockwells Cast.
H. Dracket, of Mornantou	J. Butler, of Ballinekill
E. Butler, of Monihore	Anthony Colclough
Nicholas Darcy, of Platin	T. Sarsfield, Sarsfield Town
P. Sarsfield, of Lucan	— Nangle, of Monanimny

J. Macnamara, Greatlaeh
 J. Talbot, of Bela Connel
 John Balif, of Boorstown
 J. Talbot, of Templeogue
 Patrick Archer
 L. Dowdall, of Athlomny
 P. Here, of Kilsalchna
 J. Barnwall, of Bremore
 J. Allen, of St. Woolstans
 T. Cantwell, Ballamakedy
 J. Cantwell, Cantwell's Ct.

— Wolverton, of Stelorgan
 Michael Bret
 P. Boyton, of Ballyturny-
 macoris
 P. White, of Chambelly
 Major Laurence Dempsey
 Captain Richard Dempsey
 E. Nugent, of Culvin
 P. Porter, of Kinton
 Major Marcus Furlong

The cruelties perpetrated in Ireland are too legibly engraven on the hearts of Irishmen to be obliterated. But, perhaps no act of barbarity is more revolting than that which led to the martyrdom of the illustrious Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland.

This sainted prelate was accused of high treason on the testimony of corrupt witnesses, among whom were a few perjured priests and profligate friars.

He solicited a trial in Ireland, where he had witnesses to prove his innocence and set aside the testimony of the subordinated perjurers. But to carry on, with more effect, the work of brutality, the venerable prelate was forced to go to London, to stand his trial, before even his witnesses from Ireland could arrive. Thus tried, he was condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered. He suffered with christian fortitude,

on the first of July, 1681, although the Judge had actually stated the reason of his condemnation, on grounds which were afterwards found to have no existence in law, much less in justice.

Primate Plunket's speech on this memorable occasion, contains not only an unanswerable defence of his innocence, but a monument of firmness, truth and piety. It is a document which cannot be read but with sentiments of the liveliest emotion ; and must serve to embalm the virtues of the noble Plunket, in the hearts of a persecuted people.

PRIMATE PLUNKET'S SPEECH,

ON THE FIRST OF JULY, 1681.

[Mr. Sheriff demanded his prisoner, who was carried by him on a sledge to be hanged, drawn and quartered. In his passage to the place of execution, he made many ejaculatory prayers, full of love of God and charity to his neighbors. When he arrived at Tyburn, and was tied up, before the cart was drawn from under him, he made, with wonderful cheerfulness, the following discourse :]

I have some few days past abided my trial at the King's Bench, and now very soon must hold up my hand at the King of King's Bench, and appear before a Judge who cannot be deceived by false witnesses, or corrupt allegations, for he knoweth the secrets of hearts. "Neither can he deceive any, or give any unjust sentence, or be misled by respect of persons, he being all goodness, and a most just Judge, will infallibly decree an eternal reward

for all good works, and condign punishment for the smallest transgressions, against his commandments." Which being a most certain and undoubted truth, it would be a wicked act, and contrary to my perpetual welfare, that I should now, by declaring any thing contrary to the truth, commit a detestable sin, for which in a very short time I must receive sentence of everlasting damnation, after which there is no reprieve or hope of pardon. I will, therefore, confess the truth, without any equivocation ; and make use of the words according to their accustomed signification, assuring you, moreover, that I am of that certain persuasion, that no power, not only upon earth, but also in Heaven, can dispense with me, or give me leave to make a false protestation, and I protest upon the words of a dying man, as I hope for salvation at the hands of the supreme Judge, that I will declare the truth, with all candor and sincerity, and that my affairs may be the better known to all the world.

It is to be observed, that I have been accused in Ireland of treason premunire, and that there I was arraigned, and brought to my trial. But the prosecutors, (men of flagitious and infamous lives,) perceiving that I had records and witnesses, they voluntarily absented themselves, and came to this city, to procure that I should be brought hither to my trial, where the crimes objected were not committed, where the jury did not know me, or the qualities of my accusers, and were not informed of several other circumstances conducing to a fair trial. Here, after six months close imprisonment, (or thereabouts,) I was brought to the bar, the 3d of May, and arraigned for a crime, for which I was before arraigned in Ireland—a strange resolution—a rare fact—of which you will hardly find a precedent these 500 years past. But whereas my witnesses and records were in Ireland, the Lord Chief Justice gave me five weeks time to get them brought hither, but by reason of the uncertainty of the winds, the seas, and of the difficulty of getting copies of records, and bringing many witnesses from several counties in Ireland, and for many other impediments, (of which affidavit was made) I could not at the end of five weeks get the records

and witnesses brought hither. I therefore begged for twelve days more, that I might be in readiness for my trial ; which the Lord Chief Justice denied, and so I was brought to my trial ; and exposed (as it were with my hands tied) to those merciless perjurers, who did aim at my life, by accusing me of these following crimes :—

First—That I have sent letters by one Neal O'Neal, who was my page, to Monsieur Baldeschi, the Pope's secretary, to the Bishop of Aix, and to Princippe Colonna, that they might solicit foreign powers to invade Ireland : and also to have sent letters to Cardinal Bullion to the same effect.

Secondly—To have employed Captain Con O'Neal to solicit the French King for succor.

Thirdly—To have levied and exacted monies from the Clergy of Ireland, to bring in the French, and to maintain 70,000 men.

Fourthly—To have had in readiness 70,000 men, and lists made of them ; and to have given directions to one Friar Duffy to make a list of 250 men, in the parish of Foghart, in the county of Louth.

Fifthly—To have surrounded all the forts and harbors of Ireland, and to have fixed upon Carlingford as a fit harbor for the French landing.

Sixthly—To have had several councils and meetings, where there was money allotted for introducing the French.

Finally—That there was a meeting in the county of Monaghan, some ten or twelve years past, where there were 300 gentlemen of three several counties, to wit, Monaghan, Cavan and Armagh, whom I did exhort to take arms to recover their estates.

To the first I answer that Neal O'Neal was never my servant or page, and that I never sent letter or letters by him to Monsieur Baldeschi, or the Bishop of Aix, or to Princippe Colonna. And I say that the English translation of that pretended letter, produced by the friar Mac Moyar, is a mere invention of his, and never penned by me, nor its original, either in English, Latin, Italian, or any other language. I affirm, moreover, that I never wrote letter or letters to Cardinal Bullion, or to any of

the French King's ministers ; neither did any who was in that court either speak to me, or write to me, directly or indirectly, of any plot or conspiracy against the King or country. Farther, I vow, that I never sent agent or agents to Rome, or to any other court, about any civil or temporal affairs ; and it is well known (for it is a precept publicly printed) that clergymen (living in counties where the government is not of Roman Catholics) are commanded by Rome, not to write to Rome concerning any civil or temporal affairs ; and I do aver, that I never received letter or letters from the Pope, or from any other of his ministers, making the least mention of any such matters. So that friars Mac Moyar and Duffy swore most falsely to such letter or letters, agent or agents.

To the second, I say, that I never employed Capt. Con O'Neal, to the French King, or to any of his ministers, and that I never wrote to him or received letters from him, and that I never saw him but once, nor spoke to him to the best of my remembrance ten words ; and for his being in Charlemont, or Dungannon, I never saw him in those towns, or knew of his being in those places ; so that as to Con O'Neal, friar Mac Moyar's depositions are false.

To the third, I say, that I never levied any money for a plot or conspiracy, for bringing in Spaniards or French ; neither did I ever receive any upon that account, from priests or friars, as Mac Clane and Duffy most untruly asserted. I assure you I never received from any clergyman in Ireland, but what was due to me by ancient custom for my maintenance, and what my predecessors these hundred years past were wont to receive ; nay, I received less than many of them, and if all the Catholic clergy of Ireland get in one year, were put in one purse, it would signify little or nothing to introduce the French, or to raise an army of 70,000 men, which I had enlisted, as friar Mac Moyar most falsely deposed. Neither is it less untrue what friar Duffy attested, viz. That I directed him to make a list of 250 men in the parish of Foghart, in the county of Louth.

To the fifth, I answer, that I never surrounded the forts

and harbors of Ireland, and that I never was at Cork, Kinsale, Bantry, Youghal, Dungarvan, Limerick, Dungannon, or Wexford ; as for Carlingford I was never in it but once, and stayed in it but half an hour ; neither did I consider the fort or haven ; neither had I it in my thoughts or imaginations to fix upon it, or upon any other fort or haven for landing of French or Spaniards ; and whilst I was at Carlingford, (by mere chance passing that way,) friar Duffy was not in my company, as he most falsely swore.

To the sixth, I say, that I was never at any meeting or council, where there was mention made of allotting or collecting money for a plot or conspiracy ; and it is well known, that the Catholic Clergy of Ireland, who have lands or revenues, and hardly are able to keep decent clothes on their backs, and life and soul together, cannot raise any considerable sum, nay cannot spare as much as would maintain half a regiment.

To the seventh, I answer, that I was never at any meeting of 300 gentlemen in the county of Monaghan, Armagh and Cavan, nor of one county, nor of one barony, and that I never exhorted gentleman or gentlemen either there, or any other part of Ireland, to take up arms for the recovery of their estates, and it is well known, that there are not even in the province of Ulster, three hundred Irish Roman Catholics who had estates, or lost estates by the late rebellion, and it is well known, all my thoughts and endeavors were for the quiet of my country, and especially of that province.

Now to be brief, as I hope for salvation, I never sent letter or letters, agent or agents, to Pope, King, Prince, or Prelate, concerning any plot or conspiracy against any king or country ; I never raised sum or sums of money, great or small, to maintain soldier or soldiers, all the days of my life ; I never knew (or did it come into my imagination) that the French were to land at Carlingford, and I believe there is none who saw Ireland ever in a map, but will think it a mere romance ; I never knew of any plotters or conspirators in Ireland, but such as were notorious and proclaimed, (commonly called tories) whom

I did endeavor to suppress, and as I hope for salvation, I always have been, and am entirely innocent of the treason laid to my charge, and to any other whatsoever.

And though I be not guilty of the crimes of which I am accused, yet I believe none ever came to this place who is in such a condition as I am, for if I should acknowledge (which in conscience I cannot do, because I should believe myself,) the chief crimes laid to my charge, no wise man that knows Ireland would believe me. If I should confess that I was able to raise 70,000 men in the districts of which I had care, to wit, in Ulster, nay even in all Ireland, and to have levied and exacted money from the R. C. Clergy for their maintenance, and to have prepared Carlingford for the landing of the French, all would laugh at me, it being well known that all the revenues of Ireland, both Spiritual and Temporal, possessed by his Catholic Majesty's subjects, are securely able to raise and maintain an army of 70,000 men. And if I deny all those crimes, (as I did, and do) yet it may be that some, who are not acquainted with the affairs of Ireland, will not believe that my denial is grounded upon truth, though I assert it with my last breath. I dare venture to affirm, that if these points of 70,000 men, &c. had been sworn to before any Protestant Jury in Ireland, and had been acknowledged by me at the Bar, they would not believe me, no more than if it had been deposed, and confessed by me, that I had flown in the air from Dublin to Holyhead.

You see, therefore, to what a condition I am in, and you have heard what protestations I have made of my innocence, and I hope you will believe the words of a dying man. And that you may be the more induced to give me credit, I assure you that a great Peer sent me notice, "that he would save my life, if I would accuse others;" but I answered, "that I never knew any conspirators in Ireland, but such (as I said before) as were publicly known outlaws; and that to save my life, I would not falsely accuse any, nor prejudice my own soul. St. Matt. 16, 26. 'What availeth a man if he gaineth the whole world and lose his own soul?' To take away any man's life or goods wrongfully, ill becometh any Christian, es-

pecially a man of my calling, being a clergyman of the Catholic Church, and also an unworthy Prelate, which I openly profess."

Neither will I deny to have exercised in Ireland, the functions of a Catholic Prelate, as long as there was any connivance or toleration; and by teaching and preaching, and statutes, to have endeavoured to bring the Clergy (of which I had care) to a due comportment, according to their calling; and though thereby I did my duty, yet some who would not amend, had a prejudice to me, and especially my accusers; to whom I did endeavour to do good: I mean the Clergymen, (as for the four laymen, who aped against me, viz. Florence, Mac Moyar, the two Neals, and Hanson, I was never acquainted with them)—but you see how I am requited, and how by false oaths they brought me to this untimely death. Which wicked act being a defect of persons, ought not to reflect upon the order of St. Francis, or upon the Roman Catholic Clergy; it being well known, that there was a Judas among the twelve Apostles, and a wicked man, called Nicholas, among the seven Deacons, and even as one of the said Deacons, to wit, Holy Stephen did pray for those who stoned him to death; so do I wish for those who with perjuries spill my innocent blood: saying as St. Stephen did, "O Lord lay not this sin to them." I do heartily forgive them, and also the Judges, who (by denying me sufficient time to bring my records and witnesses from Ireland,) did expose my life to evident danger.

I do also forgive all those who had any hand in bringing me from Ireland to be tried here; where it was morally impossible for me to have a fair trial. I do firmly forgive all who did concur, directly or indirectly, to take away my life, and I ask forgiveness of all those whom I ever offended, by thought, word, or deed. I beseech the All-Powerful; that his Divine Majesty grant our King, Queen, and the Duke of York, and all the Royal Family, health, long life, and all prosperity in this world, and in the next everlasting felicity.

And now that I have shewed sufficiently (as I think) how innocent I am of any plot or conspiracy, I would I

were able with the like truth to clear myself of high crimes committed against the Divine Majesty's commandments, (often transgressed by me) for which I am sorry with all my heart ; and if I should or could live a thousand years, I have a firm resolution, and a strong purpose, by your grace, (O my God,) never to offend you, and I beseech your Divine Majesty, by the merits of Christ, and the intercession of his blessed Mother, and all the Holy Angels and Saints to forgive me my sins, and to grant my soul eternal rest. Be merciful unto me, O Lord, &c. Spare my soul, &c. Into thy hand I recommend my spirit, &c.

POSTSCRIPT. To the final satisfaction of all persons, that have the charity to believe the words of a dying man, I again declare before God, as I hope for salvation, that what is contained in this paper, is the plain and naked truth, without any equivocation, mental reservation, secret evasion whatsoever ; taking the words in the usual sense and meaning Protestants do, when they discourse with all candor and sincerity. To all which I have here subscribed my name.

OLIVER PLUNKET.

A copy of this Speech he delivered to the Sheriff, and to some of his friends, which was accordingly printed.

His speech ended, and his cap drawn over his eyes, he again recommended his happy soul with raptures of devotion into the hands of Jesus, his Saviour, for whose sake he died, until the cart was drawn from under him. Thus then he hung betwixt Heaven and Earth, an open sacrifice to God, for innocence and religion ; as soon as he expired, and the Executioner ripped up his belly and breast, and pulled out his heart and bowels, threw them into the fire, ready kindled near the gallows for that purpose ;

the rest of his body being begged of the King, was carried by his friends to a house near St. Giles's Church, the trunk whereof was placed in a coffin, his head and arms to the elbow, being reserved out of the coffin, and disposed of elsewhere, then the body was interred in the church-yard, and a copper-plate placed on his breast, whereon was engraved these following words, set down here for the satisfaction of the curious :

“ In this Tomb resteth the Body of the Most Reverend Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland ; who, in hatred of religion was accused of High Treason by false Witnesses, and for the same condemned and executed at Tyburn ; his Heart and Bowels being taken out, and cast into the fire. He suffered Martyrdom with constancy, the 1st of July, 1681, in the reign of King Charles II.”

Four years after his interment, the trunk of his body was taken up and found entire, and sent beyond sea, where it lies entombed in a monument worthy of his character and eminent sanctity. His arms and head* are disposed of elsewhere, and are likewise entire, as several eye-witnesses might testify.

The succession of James II. to the throne of England, in 1685, gave the Catholics of Ireland cheering prospects.

Fearing the restoration of the Catholic religion, the Protestant clergy and their ad-

* The present writer had the felicity of seeing the head of this venerable Martyr entire, in the beautiful Convent, Sienne, Drogheda, in the year 1831.

herents in England, exerted all their powers to create a national commotion on that subject, in order to dethrone their monarch. Calumnies the most gross, and lies the most infamous were invented to render the Catholic religion odious to the English people. To defeat as far as he could, the violence of the new gospellers, and to shew how vain was their boasted liberality, which authorised every blasphemy, whilst it would allow no liberty to the ancient creed, James publicly proclaimed liberty of conscience to all, "as he was taught to believe, (says Goldsmith,) that the truth of the Catholic religion would then, upon a fair trial, gain the victory." In this declaration James asserted that no conformity to the established religion was any longer penal. Such a declaration could not please "the men of yesterday," whose creed could not exist but on the ruins of another. Hence, (as Goldsmith says,) "the established clergy were known universally to disapprove of those measures."

Secret and open schemes were now made to sever James from the people, the people from their king, and both from the ancient faith of christendom.

With this view, William, Prince of Orange, was invited to hoist the standard of revolt and rebellion against the lawful sovereign. About this time the Protestants of the North rose also in arms against king James, and

combined in an organized state of warfare against his throne ; whilst the violence and libels of the Protestant clergy in England, enkindled a flame there which could not be easily extinguished. Taking advantage of those circumstances, William, the Dutchman, the hero of orangeism, and the butcher of Glencoe, rose in arms against king James. He sailed for England, where, for sometime he was unheeded and despised. James, finding his friends deserting him, and his enemies combined against him, left his country and his subjects, that both might enjoy the blessings of the Dutch adventurer. Confiding in the tried loyalty of his Irish subjects, James landed in Kinsale in March 1689, and proceeded to Dublin amidst the applause of the people, where, after some formal acts of sovereignty he was recognized anew as their lawful monarch.

It may be well to remark here, that, although some men who call themselves friends to popular liberty, asperse the character of James, to exalt that of the usurper William, the people of Ireland had more substantial justice in his short reign, than during that of his successors, for one hundred years afterwards ; and that his endeavors, (as proposed in his speech in the Irish Parliament,) in favor of Irish trade and manufacture, should endear him to our memory, although unfortunately he was not sufficiently

courageous ; whilst the acts of his tyrannical successor against the trade, manufacture and prosperity of Ireland, without mentioning his other acts of perfidy against her people, are calculated to render his name odious and his memory contemptible.

To show how favorably James was disposed towards the Irish Catholics, he actually appointed Dr. Patrick Cusack, then Catholic bishop of Meath, as his chief almoner in Ireland, and co-operated with many of the parish priests, of that diocess, whose names are given in Dr. Burke's *Hibernia Dominicana*.

Few of the English historians speak of the first seige of Limerick, which was so glorious to the Irish, who then overthrew the enemy already in possession of the breach, and part of the city, and drove them back even to their camps. This action, (as Mac Geoghegan remarks,) forced the prince of Orange to raise the siege, and to make to his troops this reproachful remark, which was as glorious to the besieged, as it was humiliating to the besiegers : " If I had this handful of men, who defend the place against you, and that you were all within, I would take it in spite of you." His retreat was so precipitate, that he set fire to the hospital, to cover the shame of having abandoned his sick and wounded.

William seeing the strong hold that king

James had upon the Irish people, arrived in Ireland in 1690, with a considerable force. The combined armies met, and the Irish, after a gallant struggle, but under a less gallant head, and with infinitely less means than their enemies, were unsuccessful.

The battle of the Boyne, fought July 1st, 1691, decided the fate of the kingdom. James, thus defeated, fled precipitately to Dublin and from thence to Waterford, when he took shipping for France, where he died and was buried with solemnity.

To show the peculiar disadvantages under which the Irish fought this battle, it is right to state the force on both sides : The author of the "*Age of Louis XIV.*" who certainly exaggerates facts, connected with this period, in favor of the English, is forced to admit that on the one side, king James had in all only 20,000 men, of which 5000 were French, and 15,000 Irish—threefourths of the latter knew scarcely how to handle a musket—were badly provided with food and arms, and were commanded by a king whose attachment to the English made him less determined against even his rebel subjects than justice demanded ; whilst on the other side, there was an army of 36,000 veteran troops, English and Dutch, who were well disciplined, well fed, well armed, led on by the prince of Orange, " who, (as Abbe Mac Geoghegan remarks,) although

more accustomed to lose battles than to gain them, yet who, in the present juncture was a very formidable enemy."

Although James had fled from the Irish, the Irish did not abandon him. On the 12th of July, same year, 1691, another battle was fought at Aughrim, in which "the Irish, (as Goldsmith remarks,) fought with surprising fury, and repulsed the English several times." But the death of the gallant general St. Ruth, so dispirited the Irish, that they retreated to Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand. After having about 500 of the flower of their army destroyed, they here made a desperate resistance to William, under Tyrconnell and Sarsfield ; but finding they had not men or means sufficient to their valor, they surrendered at Limerick, on articles which show in what high estimation they were held, but which give to posterity a proof of the baseness of their enemies.

There is a remarkable circumstance connected with this period which deserves to be remembered by the Irish, to show them the danger of an overweening attachment to individuals, when the integrity of principle or the honor of the country is concerned.

Col. Luttrell, who commanded the Irish cavalry at the battle of Aughrim, had contrived to ingratiate himself into the favor and even confidence of the people. At a

moment of trial he refused to fire on the English invaders, under the pretext of saving the Irish Army. His popularity prevented the suspicion of betrayal. He proceeded, however, in this scheme of duplicity, and having subsequently, when Limerick was betrayed by general Ginkle, obtained an influential post on the banks of the Shannon, during the memorable battle, he actually sold the pass to the enemy, and thus completed his villany !

“ It was not enough,” as Lesley, even a prejudiced Englishman observes, “ that the English, on the 12th of July, 1661, killed *in cold blood*, 2000 who had previously laid down their arms.” Scarcely had two months elapsed after the articles were signed, until they were broken by the *invaders* ; and then Ireland more than ever, was treated as a conquered country ; its independence violated, and its honor debased by foreign task-masters.

William ratified the Articles of Limerick and broke them ! “ This, (as Mr. Grattan eloquently said,) was called a peace and a truce. It also proved to the Catholics a sad servitude ; to the Protestants a drunken triumph.” That which was called in England the glorious revolution of 1688, was recognized in Ireland as an infamous attack upon its inhabitants, and he who was characterised by a faction, as their redeem-

er was considered by the Irish nation as the destroyer of their country and as an enemy to every species of honor.

FOURTH PART.

“ We have heard the pride of Moab ; he is exceedingly proud ; his haughtiness, and his arrogancy, and his pride, and the loftiness of his heart. I know, saith the Lord, his boasting, and that the strength thereof is not according to it ; neither had it endeavored to do as it was able.”—Jerem. 48—29, 30.

“ Hear therefore, ye Kings, and understand ; learn, ye that are judges of the end of the earth. Give ear, you that rule the People, and that please yourselves in multitude of nations. For power is given you by the Lord, and strength by the Most High, who will examine your works, and search out your thoughts. Because being ministers of his kingdom, you have not judged rightly, nor kept the law of justice, nor walked according to the will of God.”—Wisdom, ch. 6.

Before we proceed with our historic sketch it is perhaps right to give the honest reader some idea of the historians who wrote about this period, and to show what little credit they deserve, as far as their account of Irish affairs is concerned.

Lord Clarendon, Bishop Burnett and Dr. King cut a conspicuous figure about the time of (what Englishmen are taught to call) the “ *Glorious Revolution* !” These men, like Cambrensis, Hanmer, Campion, Spen-

ser and Camden, their predecessors, made use of their talents to misrepresent Ireland and the character of her people.

Clarendon being state minister under Charles I. and Charles II. had an interest in plundering the persecuted Catholics of Ireland during that eventful period, and having also manifested his hatred to them in practice, could not be expected to do justice to their character as an historian. His unjust charges and self-evident contradictions have, however, been fully proved by Abbe Geoghegan in his *History of Ireland*, and by Fox in his *Life of James II.* and by many other eminent men.

Bishop Burnet (whose *History of the Reformation* converted the Duchess of York to the Catholic Religion) from the part he took in the Revolution of 1668, became a violent enemy to the Catholics, and received the bishoprick of Salisbury for his pains. As the inventor of the accursed national debt he has merited the execration of all Englishmen. Dean Swift boldly exposed this prelate's shameful falsehoods, particularly in his *Preface to Burnet's Introduction to his History of the Reformation*, and Mr. Cobbett in his immortal work on the Reformation, particularly in his 14th letter, has given the world the bishop's character, in terms too forcible to be refuted, and too clear to be obliterated.

Doctor King wrote his book, as its title denotes, to court the favor of king William after the revolution. Accordingly he was made bishop of Derry in 1680, and translated to the see of Dublin in 1702. Doctor Lesley, the famous protestant divine, wrote an answer to this book, in which he proves that most of King's charges were false or grossly exaggerated. Lesley's answer was never replied to. I have mentioned chiefly Protestant writers who have refuted the above named traducers, as their testimony may carry more weight than that of Catholics, whose creed and character they most shamefully misrepresented.

In concluding the reign of James it is not necessary to enter into his entire character or to justify the Irish Catholics for their attachment to him. Both are done in *Lesley's Reply to Doctor King*, and in *Fox's Letters to his Son*. Doctor Milner in his 7th letter to Sturges, Andrews in his letters on *Civil Liberty maintained by James*, and Curry in his *Civil Wars in Ireland*, produce original records, state papers, and authentic testimonies upon the subject ; and it is truly surprising, that men, calling themselves lovers of justice and liberty, to please those who despise both, have deemed it right to brand that unfortunate monarch for bigotry he never practiced, and intolerance he ever despised. In one word, James on his acces-

sion assured his council, and afterwards his parliament, that "*he would go as far as any man in preserving all the just rights and liberties of the nation ;*" and he failed as we have seen, only because he attempted to give more liberty to conscience than the supporters of falsehood deemed useful to that cause, which had commenced in lies and had increased by calumny !

Charles James Fox, the celebrated senator and orator, though imbued with some erroneous notions of liberty, yet defended the Irish Catholics against their libellers. "They resisted William, (said he) on the same principle that the English and Scotch resisted James. The Irish did not revolt from king James's power. He threw himself upon their fidelity, and they supported him according to the best of their power. On the other hand, (continues he) William basely violated his contract with the Irish." *Letters to his Son*, 1793, and *Life of King James*. Mr. Cobbett, in the 13th letter of his *History of the Reformation* has answered the twelve charges brought against James II., and has showed to whom they were applicable.

The surrender of Limerick and the conclusion of the treaty closed the reign of James. The right of William to succeed him was submitted to; but all expected from his promises that national peace, civil liber-

ty and religious freedom would be enjoyed ! Hope told, however, too flattering a tale. Scarcely did William III. ascend the English throne than the reign of duplicity and deceit towards the Catholics of Ireland commenced. For some little time he affected to keep the word of promise he had made to treat them with impartial justice ; but the pledge was too sacred to be kept, and the treaty too honorable to be fulfilled ! Irish possessions became once more the subject of confiscations. A new set of adventurers came to Ireland to seek their fortunes on the ruins of the native nobility, and the destruction of those who had preserved their estates from preceding cruelty, was now accomplished by heartless treachery !

Lord Clare, describing the accumulated woes of Ireland at this period, says, that “ the situation of the Irish nation at the revolution stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world. If the wars of England (continues he) carried on here from the reign of Elizabeth had been waged against a foreign enemy, the inhabitants would have retained their possessions under the established laws of civilized nations, and their country have been annexed as a province to the British empire. What then was the situation of Ireland at the Revolution, and what is it at this day ? *The whole power and property of the country have been con-*

ferred by successive monarchs of England upon an English colony, composed of three sets of English adventurers, who poured in- to this country at the termination of three successive rebellions."—*Speech Feb. 10th, 1800, pp. 21, 22.* In the preceding pages this arrant chancellor thus sums up the number of acres confiscated in Ireland to the period at which we have arrived : " It is (says he) a subject of curious and important speculation to look back to the forfeitures of Ireland incurred in the last century. The superficial contents of the island are calculated at eleven millions and forty-two thousand six hundred and eighty-two acres. Let us now examine the state of forfeitures: Confiscated in the reign of James I. the whole ACRES.

of the Province of Ulster, containing	2,836,837
Set out by the Court of Claims, at the Restoration	7,800,000
Forfeitures of 1688	1,060,792

Total	11,697,629
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So that the whole of your island has been confiscated, with the exception of five or six old families of English blood, some of whom had been attainted in the reign of Henry VIII. but received their possessions before Tyrone's rebellion, and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English republic inflicted by Cromwell ; and no inconsiderable portion of the island has been confiscated twice, or perhaps thrice in the course of a century."—Pp. 20, 21.

In 1691, by an act of the British legislature, the Irish Catholics were excluded from parliament. Although, however, the Irish parliament was now purely Protestant, it did not entirely succumb to the British legislature. The former seeing that the primary object of the English cabinet was to give their own immediate government *ascendancy*, and to reduce Ireland to a state of vassalage, now began to despise the religious feuds that had injured Ireland, and boldly set forth the independence of their country, and the constitutional rights of Irishmen against arbitrary power and base misrule !

In 1692, Lord Sydney, Sir C. Porter and Sir Thomas Conningsby were the lord chief justices of Ireland. Sydney, who acted as lord lieutenant, convened a parliament in Ireland, which, with the exception of that in the days of James, was the first that had sat here for twenty-six years. So much were our national rights invaded by English misrule.

This parliament, notwithstanding all the difficulties of the times, had the courage to aspire to independence ; and, if it had had sufficient of the popular voice in its construction, it would have asserted the dignity of Ireland as a nation. Hence, the members of the Irish senate, at this time, despised the assumed right of the English parliament to legislate for Ireland ; rejected the money

bill because it originated with them, and put on record their solemn reprobation of foreign interference.

These things were too ominous to the ascendancy men in England. It was therefore deemed right to infuse new blood into the veins of the Irish legislative body, as it was not in sufficient temperament to sympathize with the *Anglo-Saxon interests* !

The infamous code against the religious, moral and literary culture of the Irish mind was now devised, and a demoralizing policy was adopted that would have disgraced the sanguinary reign of a Nero, or a Diocletian ! It was made penal for a Catholic to receive education either at home or abroad, and priests and school-masters were to be fined, confined and punished, for educating them. *See Statutes of William III.* "To render humanity (says Edmund Burke) fit to be insulted, it was fit it should be degraded."

Under the administration of lord Capel, those infamous statutes were carried into execution that are given for the execration of posterity in *Scully's Penal Laws*.

The Irish house of commons once more asserted its independence, notwithstanding the violence and craft adopted in England by unprincipled men to reduce it to suberviency ! It resolved, "That the woollen trade of Ireland should be regulated ;" or, in other words, that it should receive due

support. The English parliament, incensed at this magnanimous resolve, passed another act, prohibiting the exports, directly or indirectly, from Ireland after June 24th, 1699.

The address of the English lords to king William at this period, to discountenance the woollen manufacture of Ireland, to which the butcher of Glencoe assented, proves beyond a doubt the preponderating wish of an English legislature to destroy Ireland in order to withhold British domination ; and it demonstrates the incompetency of the former to provide for the wants of the latter.

Those acts of injustice, however, only contributed, as they always ought to contribute, to unite all Irishmen in advancing the independence of Ireland.

In 1695, the Irish commons asserted, in several instances, the honor of their legislature. Here the warfare of the two parliaments commenced. The English, to assume new or to assert old ascendancy ; the Irish to deny the latter, and to resist both. Alternate warfares thus proceeded until 1608, when William Molyneux, a member of the Irish house of commons, published the celebrated book, entitled, "*The case of Ireland being bound by Act of Parliament in England, stated.*" This work was "valuable for its matter, important in its effect, and interesting as the dawn of political discussion." It undertook to prove that Ire-

land was as independent of England, in her legislative capacity, as England was of Ireland. "It shook the presumption of one parliament and fortified the confidence of the other. Hence, a more modern policy. The seat and style of the discussion were changed; the contest was no longer between the senate themselves but between the adherents of each in the Irish parliament." The English house of commons, on the appearance of this book, appointed a committee to examine its contents and tendency. On the 22nd of June, 1698, this committee reported, "*That the book published by Mr. Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the king and parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland.*" Not being able to refute the work, they had recourse to the usual mode of misrepresenting, by making it appear that its author had brought into disrepute *the authority of the king*; whereas it only contended that no other authority but the lords and commons of Ireland, *with the king*, had power to enact laws in Ireland. As a more convenient mode of condemnation, in the absence of argument, the work was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. Although the leaves were consumed, the contents remained in the mind of Irishmen to create a more patriotic flame, as we shall

see hereafter. In the mean time the crafty ministers of England, afraid to discuss *the right*, had recourse to their usual craft and dissimulation. As the *Union* with Scotland was then under discussion, so Ireland was not forgotten in the *holy consideration*. This was deemed the only measure to *reduce Ireland to a proper obedience*; but the time was not yet come to tie the *sacred bond* ! The parliaments of the two countries were at issue (says earl Clare) so early as the 10th of king William. But the English colony, however sore they might have felt under the sharp rebuke of their countrymen, were too sensible of the dangers by which they were surrounded and their imbecility to encounter them to push this political quarrel to a breach with the English parliament ; and at the next meeting of the parliament of Ireland, which did not take place until the 2nd of queen Anne, the house of lords having taken into serious consideration the state of this nation, did on the 25th of October, 1703, resolve (Journals, vol. 2, p. 29) that it was their opinion, upon due consideration of the present condition of their kingdom, that such an humble representation be made to the queen, of the state and condition thereof, as may best incline her majesty by such proper means as to her majesty should seem fit, to *promote such an union with England as may qualify the states of this kingdom to be*

REPRESENTED THERE.—Speech, 1800, p. 25.

It is now our duty to see what *pious means* were taken to bring about this *cordial union*!

“ In the reign of queen Anne (says Gordon) who succeeded on the death of William, in 1701, I have found little of importance besides the complaints of national poverty and the violence of party spirit, under *a rigorous augmentation of penal statutes*.” The state of Ireland at this period was truly distressing. Under every British sovereign our country was doomed to suffer. But from one who was entitled “ *a pious protestant*,” and whose tender sex should have made her feel for persecuted innocence, we would at least expect common humanity.

Anne, alternately led by *Whigs* and *Tories*, exerted the influence of both to persecute the Catholics! In her reign, the infamous “*act for preventing the growth of popery*” was passed. To take away the odium that this act annexed to the trade of priest-catchers, discoverers and informers, the English commons resolved, “ That the persecuting and informing against papists was an honorable service to government.” A noble resolve of legislative tyrants! To carry into operation this act, earl Wharton, on the 13th of March, 1709, announced to the parliament “ *That it was their duty to make all Protestants*.” In the mean time the proposed *Union* was not forgotten. In 1707, the house

of lords, in congratulating the queen on the *Scotch Union*, (which, be it remembered, was likewise carried by *bribery and force* against the declared voice of the Scotch people,) besought her majesty "*to extend to Ireland so great a blessing!*" The mere report of an union was so unpopular in Dublin at this time, that Rapin informs us such of the Irish members as were considered favorable to it, were publicly attacked, and that a general rising was expected.—*History of England*.

George I. ascended the throne in 1714 without opposition. Although Ireland remained tranquil, she obtained no kindness in return.

In November, 1715, the Irish legislature manifested great zeal in favor of the house of Hanover! As an introduction to the *Union*, a bill was enacted for *better securing the dependence of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain*.

The lord chief justice, at this period, in a speech in parliament, defended the loyalty and the peaceable conduct of the Catholics of Ireland.

Although however favor was shown to the dissenters in 1719, the duke of Grafton, in 1720, manifested his malignant zeal against the Catholics of Ireland. This produced a violent opposition from the Protestants against them.

In 1723, primate Boulter, a bigot of the first water, equally hostile to the liberty of Ireland as to the Catholics, now commenced his administration. Proselytism and hypocrisy now combined, created *charter schools, and other religious bastiles*, to decatholicise those whom the gibbet or the dungeon had not destroyed ! The persecution was now so cruel and so refined, that the following address was drawn up in 1724, in defence of the Catholics of Ireland, and to prove the injustice of their oppression, supposed to be written by Doctor Nary, author of the history of the world, and of the reply to the protestant archbishop of Tuam.

THE CASE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND

Humbly represented to both Houses of Parliament, 1724, in relation to a bill now under consideration, by which the said Roman Catholics conceive they are very much aggrieved should it pass into a law.

Though the case of those unfortunate people, (in my humble opinion,) may not improperly be likened to the roll of a book, given to the prophet Ezekiel to eat (Ezekiel, chap. ii. 9,) which was written within and without ; and there was written therein lamentation, and mourning, and woe : *Qui erat Scretptus intus foris ; et Scriptae erant in eo Lamentationes, et Carmen, et Væ.* Yet they comfort themselves very much upon this consideration, that their fate is in the hands of noble peers, and honorable senators, whose goodness and piety they have often experienced upon the like occasion ; and look upon it as the greatest of their happiness that our constitution has set them as a barrier between the prince and the people,

that the prince might not oppose the people, nor the people invade the prerogative of the prince.

The Roman Catholics of Ireland, when the revolution happened, did conceive and believe it to be undeniably true, that by the ancient fundamental laws and statutes of England and Ireland, the imperial crown of England was monarchical and hereditary, lineally and gradually descending by inherent, indefeasible and unalienable right of primogeniture, and proximity of blood, to the next true heir, upon the death or voluntary abdication of the preceding lawful monarch, without any intervening formality, call, authority, recognition, coronation, oath or ceremony whatsoever ; whether the heir should happen to be at the time of such death or abdication, in or out of the kingdom, as it did to James the Sixth of Scotland, and first of England, on the death of Queen Elizabeth ; and to Charles the Second, residing in Holland, upon the murder of the king, his royal father, which verifies the maxim in law, affirming that the king never dies.—*Rex nunquam moritur.*

The Roman Catholics of Ireland grounding their belief upon these laws and statutes, thought that at least they were bound in conscience to keep the faith and allegiance which they gave and swore to king James the Second. And therefore concluded they could not transfer the same unto any other prince, so long as the said king James was alive ; notwithstanding the revolution which happened in England, in the year 1688. And the rather that they believed the abdication which was voted (in the convention of London) to have been made by the said king, was not voluntary ; considering the restraint he was under, and the abuses offered to him when he attempted to make his escape. And they were further confirmed in this belief by the letter which he wrote to the lords of his privy council when he arrived at Calais, in France, desiring them to propose safe methods for his return ; and giving among other reasons for his withdrawing or leaving his kingdoms a saying which he had heard of his royal father—that the prison and grave of a prince are not far asunder.

Upon these considerations the Roman Catholics of Ireland took up arms in defence of his crown and dignity, received himself in person at their head, and fought for him until they were reduced to extremities by king Wil-

liam's armies. And even did not listen to any terms of peace until they had king James's consent upon his departure from Ireland to make the best conditions they could for themselves. Being then the next campaign after the battle of Aughrim and surrender of Galway. Distressed at the second siege of Limerick, they capitulated with the generals of king William's troops and the lords justices of Ireland ; and obtained articles, commonly called the articles of Limerick, upon valuable considerations, viz. First, the avoiding the further effusion of human blood. Secondly, the surrendering of the city of Limerick, and the garrison towns in the county of Cork, of Clare, of Mayo, and of Sligo. For the religious performance of which articles, according to the true intent and meaning of the same, the said lords justices and generals, under the sanction of public faith, solemnly plighted their words and honors, and promised to get the same ratified by king William, which they accordingly did, king William ratifying them in council under the broad seal of England.

Now by the first of these articles, the Roman Catholics of Ireland were to enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as they did in the reign of king Charles the Second ; in whose reign it is manifest the Roman Catholics had bishops, dignitaries, priests and religious orders of their own communion, to instruct and govern them in religious matters.

By the second article, all Roman Catholics of Ireland, (except those who left the kingdom, and submitted not to king William's government,) were to enjoy all their real and personal estates, and all the right, titles and interest, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them, held or enjoyed in the reign of king Charles the Second ; in whose reign it is also manifest that all the Roman Catholic peers and gentlemen of Ireland, and all others, who would or could purchase them, carried arms ; and that some of them were in posts of honor, as that of sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other posts of profit and trust. That their lawyers, attorneys and solicitors practised their respective callings with the same freedom and liberty as the Protestants. As also that the Roman Catholic merchants, dealers and tradesmen, were alder-

men and burgesses in cities, and freemen in towns and corporations all over the kingdom.

By the ninth article, the oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submitted to king William, was the oath of allegiance, and no other.

In confidence of this sacred tie of public faith, solemnly given to them under the hands and seals of the said lords justices and generals, the said Roman Catholics surrendered the city of Limerick and all the towns and garrisons then in their possession, and have ever since to this day lived peaceably and quietly under the government of the respective kings and queens of Great Britain, without ever attempting to molest or disturb, or raise any rebellion or tumult in it, as is evident to all the world.

But how well the said articles and this sacred tie have been kept to them, or rather how manifestly they have been broken in upon and violated, is a theme which the Roman Catholics cannot with tears of blood sufficiently lament, *Hinc illæ Lachrymæ !*

It would be too tedious to recite all the acts of parliament since made in this kingdom to that purpose ; let it suffice to say that by the laws since made, and every Roman Catholic of the kingdom (bating a few lords, and three or four colonels of the troops, who were actually in Limerick and Galway at the time they surrendered) are disabled under severe penalties to carry arms offensive or defensive, for their own, or defence of their houses and goods, other than pitchforks, or such instruments as the peasants till the earth with ; nay, many gentlemen who formerly made a considerable figure in the kingdom, are now-a-days, when they walk with canes or sticks only in their hands, insulted by men armed with swords and pistols, who of late rose from the very dregs of the people. *Servi Dominati sunt nobis ! Lamenta Jeremiæ.*

All Roman Catholic lawyers, attorneys and solicitors, are disabled to practice their respective callings, except they take the oath of abjuration, the oath of supremacy, and the test ; that is, become Protestants. So that of about a hundred Roman Catholic lawyers and attorneys, that attend the courts of Dublin, and in the country, not one of them is allowed to get a morsel of bread by those studies upon which they spent their youth and their time.

All the Roman Catholics of the kingdom, in general, without any exception or saving, are disabled to purchase any lands or tenements, to take mortgages for security of money, or even to take any lease or farm exceeding the term of 31 years, and that at no less than two-thirds of the improved rent. So that all the encouragement for natural industry is taken away from them, and they are left under the impossibility of ever being other than slaves. By the same laws, their children, though never so profligate or undutiful to their parents, upon their becoming Protestants, are encouraged to compel their parents to give a maintenance, such as the lord chancellor for the time being shall think fit. And all heirs apparent of such parents upon their becoming Protestants, make their parents tenants for life. So that the father cannot, may not provide for his other dutiful children or other extraordinary exigencies of life. Now if this be not encouraging children to transgress God's law, I own I know not what is, and will not the great legislator of heaven require this at men's hands ?

By another law, all the registered Roman Catholic priests of this kingdom are required to take the oath of abjuration by a certain day, under the penalty of being reputed regulars, and punished as such. And all the laity, without exception, to be summoned thereto, and upon their refusal the third time, to be guilty of a premunire, which is forfeiture and confiscation of all their real and personal estates, and perpetual imprisonment. Notwithstanding that they had stipulated by the articles of Limerick ; and had the public faith given them, that no other oath but that of allegiance should be required of them, which oath they were always ready to take.

By another law, all burgesses and aldermen of cities, freemen, and masters of corporations, all men bearing civil offices, charges or employments, above the degree of petty constables, are required to take the oath of abjuration, the oath of supremacy, and the test, so that at present there is not one freeman, or master of any corporation, nor of any other of the least charge (bating that of a petty constable,) of the Roman Catholic religion in all the kingdom ; neither are any of the tradesmen or shopkeepers of this religion suffered to work at their respective trades or

sell their goods in any of the cities in Ireland, except they pay exorbitant taxes, which they call quarterage, to the respective master of their corporations ; and upon refusal of paying the same, (because there is no law for it,) they are sure to be summoned to take the oath of abduration, in order to frighten them to a compliance. Add to this, that as often as England or Ireland have been alarmed by the attempts made by the French or Spaniards or by the pretender upon England or Scotland, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom were to be taken up, to have the arms which the few of them had, taken from them ; to have their houses, and the houses of men who had no arms rifled for more ; to have their saddle, and even their draught and plough horses taken from them, and kept whilst the alarm continued. And had these foreigners or the pretender succeeded in their attempts, the Lord of heaven knows what should be our fate ! So that what Tertullian* wrote in his apology for the christians of his own time, is, with some little alteration, applicable to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. But for as much as the refusing to take the oath of abduration is the pretence of all the grievances and oppression under which they groan, I shall beg leave to dwell a little upon this argument, and doubt not to make it appear that it is but a pretence and no just cause.

By the oath of allegiance, all persons whatsoever, who take the same are bound in conscience and by the sacred tie of calling God to bear witness of the sincerity of their hearts, (as all the divines, legislators and lawyers in the world agree,) not to have a hand, directly or indirectly, in any plot or conspiracy against the prince or government, to whom they take this oath, and to discover to him or them, or to some of their magistrates, all such plots or conspiracies as they shall have any knowledge of ; yea, and to be aiding and assisting with their lives and fortunes in suppressing them in their respective stations and qualifications. Can there be any thing more sacred to

* Si Tiberis redundat ; Si Nilus non æstuat, Si Pestis, Si Fames. Si Gladius, Statim Statim Christiani (*Romani*) ad Leones.

bind mens consciences ? Can the oath of abdication do more ? If men break this oath will they not break other oaths whatsoever ? Is not any government, the most tyrannical, or the most unjustly acquired in the world, safe under such a tie, from men whose love or affections they suspect, if this oath be kept ? Or if it be not, what other oath will they keep ?

As to the oath of abdication, there is a vast difference between it and this ; for there are some clauses in it, to the truth of which I think no Roman Catholic, at least I am convinced I cannot in conscience swear ; I shall single out three. First, I am required by this oath to swear that I believe in my conscience the late king James or the pretender, has no right or title whatsoever to the crown of England : now I am so far a stranger to the right and titles of kings and princes (and I am sure most of my profession, if not all, in this kingdom are so,) that I would not take such an oath to any king, prince or potentate in Europe, with respect to all such pretenders to their crowns as they should require me to abdure. For to be able to swear it I must have sure and certain motives to ground my belief upon, else I perjure myself. But this is what I could never yet find in any thing that I read, or from any person with whom I conversed. Nay, many divines and persons of note and learning of the Church of England and of the Church of Scotland and Ireland by law established, have believed and do still believe that neither the late king James nor the pretender have forfeited their right to the crown of England. And I am sure all the divines and lawyers in France, Spain and Italy, are of the same opinion. How can I then, or any other Roman Catholic in this kingdom, ground my belief, so as to swear that he is not ? But whether he has, or has not, I am no ways concerned at taking the oath of allegiance, which is the law of nature, and the common practice of all nations, allows me to take with a safe conscience to any prince who conquers me, and the country of which I am a member, though he be never so great a tyrant or usurper, even to the Zar of Muscovy, or the Grand Turk. But surely I could not swear that I believe king George hath no right to the crown of England or Ireland, should either of these conquer me. In a word,

what I swear in the oath of allegiance is in my power to keep, that is, not to be in any plot or conspiracy against king George or his government. Or if I hear of any, to discover it. And if I do not I perjure myself: but it is not in my power to found a belief by which I should swear to the truth of this clause in the oath of abdication, and therefore I think I cannot in conscience take it.

Secondly, there is another clause in the oath of abdication, requiring men to swear they will maintain the succession to the crown in the Protestant line, &c. Now, how many Roman Catholics, continuing such, can in conscience, take such an oath, I own I do not understand. For by this clause I am sworn (should I take the said oath) to withdraw my obedience from (and the allegiance I swore before to) king George and his successors, in case he or his successors should become Roman Catholics. Nor is this an imaginary case; for what was may be. The king of Navarre, Henry the IV. was once a Protestant, and became a Roman Catholic. The Duke of Saxony, now king of Poland, was a Protestant, but is now a Roman Catholic. And to come nearer home, king Charles the Second, and king James his brother, were both Protestants, and became Roman Catholics. Now if it should so happen to the royal family in Great Britain in time to come, and that they should embrace the religion which I profess, could I in conscience violate my oath of allegiance to them and to my power be aiding and assisting in dethroning them for that which it is in my opinion and belief they ought to do? No, surely!

I would willingly beg those gentlemen who press us to take this oath, to turn the table, and allow me for argument sake to put a case—suppose a Roman Catholic prince, sitting on his throne in England, should get an oath framed by act of parliament, in which there should be a clause requiring all the subjects to swear they would maintain the succession in the Roman Catholic line: could any honest Protestant take this oath with a safe conscience? If not, I beseech you, gentlemen, practice that golden rule, do as you would wish to be done by. The third clause I remarked in the oath runs thus: and I make this recognition, declaration, &c. heartily, freely and willingly. I shall only remark upon this clause, that to my cer-

tain knowledge, many a man, as well Protestant as Catholic, have taken the oath of abdication with aching hearts, and no other way willingly, than as a merchant or sailor in a storm throws his goods overboard into the sea, to save his life. Now, whether such men do not perjure themselves, since the laws of God require we should not only part with our goods, but even lay down our lives, rather than sin against conscience, I leave the world to judge.

By this time, I hope it is pretty plain, that no Roman Catholic can, with a safe conscience, take the oath of abdication; as also that their obedience and fidelity to the government is as well secured by the oath of allegiance as by it. Let us suppose that the taking the oath of abdication is a further security of the subject's fidelity; what have the Roman Catholics of Ireland to do with that? They laid down their arms, and gave up their garrison towns and cities, with their stores and ammunition, upon the solemn promise and under the sanction of public faith, ratified by royal authority, that no other oath should be required of them but that of allegiance. Is there no regard to be had for that public faith and law of nations which were held so sacred by the very heathens that they used to denounce the wrath and vengeance of their false gods, against such as violated them? *Si Genus Humanum et Mortali Temnitis, arma et Sperate Deos Memores fandi atque Nefandi.* Enid. Virg. Lib. 1.

Well then may any general who comes to besiege a town offer his own terms to the besieged, (for so he will be sure to carry it without the loss of a man,) and break them when the besieged are in his power, if he can dispense with those sacred ties. Well may men break their vows, oaths and promises, when it is convenient to them, if the public faith may be broken upon any consideration. Well might the noble Roman, Attilus Regulus, stay at Rome and not go back to Carthage, where he was sure to be put to a cruel death, as he was, could he think he might dispense with the promise he made to return, in case he succeeded not in his embassy. In a word, loose that sacred bond, and the world will be a chaos, an Hanceldama, or a field of blood.

King William, of happy memory, had other notions of the public faith when he went with his army to besiege

Limerick. He offered the Roman Catholics conditions, which they did not think good enough, though they were ready to submit and lay down their arms, had he condescended to give them better terms. He besieged the town in form, made a large breach of the wall and assaulted it three several times, but could not carry the place. Would not his majesty then give the Roman Catholics any terms they could in reason desire, rather than suffer the check of being obliged to raise the siege, as he was, if he thought he might in honor or conscience break his promise when the besieged were in his power? So far from it, that during his reign he did not suffer the least attempt to be made upon the article which his generals made the year following with the Roman Catholic army in Limerick, of which we have a pregnant instance. For in the third year of his reign, when an act of parliament passed in England, entitled an act for abrogating the oath of supremacy, and appointing their oaths, requiring all officers, magistrates, lawyers, &c. in Ireland to take the same, there was a saving for such Roman Catholics as were entitled to the benefit of the articles of Limerick; and it was expressly provided by the said act, that they should be obliged to take the oath of allegiance, and no other.

But alas! this great monarch was no sooner laid up with his fathers, than the Roman Catholics began to feel the dire effects of some men's spleen. I say some men, for God Almighty be thanked, we have always had very worthy gentlemen of great honor and integrity in the house of commons, and many also in the house of lords, without whose help we would have long since been consumed. But our misfortune hitherto was, that, as every thing in parliament is carried by a majority of votes, and those who did not wish us well, being generally the greater in number, there was scarcely a session of parliament in this kingdom, during the reign of queen Anne, in which one point or other has not been invaded of the articles and conditions upon which we submitted to king William, and which are in themselves no more than what was named for subjects and free born men to expect. Nay, much less than our neighboring nation, the Scots, obtained upon their submitting to the crown of England. But there is this difference—that no one tittle of the conditions prom-

ised to these, was ever yet violated ; whereas there is scarce an article of the conditions upon which the Roman Catholics submitted, but has been broken by severe laws. And yet we challenge all the world to shew us one instance in which we have not demeaned ourselves as dutiful and loyal subjects as the Scots, if not more so ; so that it is plain the design of those our enemies, who had no regard to the sacred bands by which all nations are in a manner tied together, was to destroy and exterminate us from off the face of the earth. But I would beg of him to consider that there is a God in heaven, an avenger of wrongs, a God of vengeance to those who violate public faith ; a crime which never fails to bring visible judgments from heaven, especially when it is public and national, as may be manifestly seen both in sacred and profane history.

The Gibeonites (Josh. 9,) though by fraud and craft, prevailed upon Joshua to give them his faith for their lives, which he and his successors made good to the days of king Saul, who destroyed these wretches with fire and sword ; for which in the days of king David there came a visible judgment upon the Israelites from God, whose wrath could not be appeased but by the blood of seven sons of Saul. 2 Sam. 2.

Antiochus gave public faith to the Jews, which he broke. *Josephus De.* And the catastrophe of him and his family is too well known to be here recited. The Carthaginians often made peace with the Romans, and as often broke it without just cause ; for which a decree was made by the Senate in Rome, in these words : *Delenda est Carthage, Delendi Fidi fragi Peni*, which was accordingly put in execution. It were endless to enumerate all the instances of this nature in history ; I shall therefore content myself with two more. Ladislaus, king of Hungary, made a truce with Amurath the third and without any just cause broke it, and the day of battle, when the Turks were defeated and put to flight, Amurath, seeing his troops broken and running away, pulled out of his bosom the writing which contained the articles of the truce, lifted up his eyes to heaven, and addressed himself to the God of Christians, praying him to revenge the wrongs done to his name by the christians in violating their oath and the public faith. He had not well finished these

words, when all of a sudden his troops rallied, attacked the christians, and utterly defeated them ; killing many thousands of them, together with their king, on the field of battle.

Lewis the XIII, king of France, by the famous edict of Nantz, gave the huguenots the free exercise of their religion, but Lewis the XIV. broke that edict and banished at least an hundred thousand of them. When this great prince was in the height of his glory, he was the terror of Europe and thought the world too little for him. When the very names of the musquateers, gendarms, mason du roy, struck a terror into their enemies, these formidable, invincible troops, all of a sudden, lost their courage, turned their backs to the enemy, and received at the battle of Hockstead, such an overthrow, attended with the loss of two other great battles, Ramelies and Turin, which brought this haughty prince and his people so low that he was glad to sue in an humble manner, and accept of a peace, upon almost the very terms his enemies prescribed him ; and yet the vengeance of heaven did not cease to pursue him, (in all probability for the breach of public faith, though with his own subjects,) until his son, his two grand sons, and two great grand sons, were swept away in one year, so that his family (though in appearance the best stocked with a numerous issue of any prince in Europe) was reduced in his own sight, to a single infant of five years old, and his kingdom to so much misery and desolation, both of pestilence and famine, as is hardly to be expressed. And will not the vengeance of heaven, (think you) pursue those who so flagrantly broke the public faith, solemnly given to the Catholics of Ireland ; now, indeed, honest, innocent and loyal subjects to king George, but who then had good reasons as they conceived not to submit until they were conquered ? Is the hand of the Lord shortened since that time ? Is he less zealous of his honor now than in those days ? Or has he any exception of persons, so as not to punish all nations alike, when equally guilty of the same sins ? No, but he is patient, and long suffering ; gives sinners time to think of their ways, and waits either for their amendment or the filling up the measure of their sins. *Super tribus Sce-
ribus Juda and super Quatuor Convertam eum.* Amos

ii. 4. And who can tell but the bill now under consideration, should it pass into a law, is the filling up the measure of the sins of those gentlemen who have so often before violated the public faith? It seems, indeed, as far as human reason can penetrate into God's secrets to be so. For it is calculated for the destruction of all the Roman Catholics in this kingdom, notwithstanding the public faith given them in Limerick of enjoying all the liberties, privileges, immunities and freedom, as well in civil as religious matters, which they enjoyed in the reign of king Charles II. And the well grounded hopes they flattered themselves with living easy and quiet for the future, as they have done since his majesty's accession to the throne. But God, in his infinite mercy, grant that the innocent worthy members of the honorable house of commons, or the noble peers of the house of lords, be not involved with those gentlemen who do not love us, in a common calamity as it usually happens; the people being generally punished for the sins of their rulers. Witness the sins of David, light, indeed, in appearance. The numbering only of his subjects, which was, however, punished with the destruction of seventy thousand of his people in three days. 2 Samuel 24.

This bill, this fatal bill! provides that no Roman Catholic priest, under the penalty of high treason, shall say mass in the kingdom, except those who have taken the oath of abdication (a manifest violation of the ninth article of the capitulation of Limerick,) and that no man, under the penalty of felony, without benefit of clergy, shall aid, assist, or harbor any such priest; and to make sure work, it provides also that the informer of such priest, or layman, assisting, aiding or harboring him, shall have an hundred pounds reward, and an hundred pounds are to be given to the prosecutor of such priest, (or layman aiding or assisting the priest,) in order to his conviction.

Now it is certain that of eleven hundred Roman Catholic priests, who were registered pursuant to an act of parliament for that purpose, not above thirty-three priests ever took the oath of abdication, and of these thirty-three one half are now dead; and of the registered priests more than two-thirds. What shall so many thousand of Roman Catholics in every province of the kingdom do then

to serve God in their own way? (I beg I may not be understood as if I intended to magnify their numbers, to give an umbrage to the government. For I say nothing but what every Protestant in the nation knows as well as myself, and very well knows, also, that they are in the capacity to molest and give any disturbance; and I dare engage they have no design so to do) what shall they do when sick or dying? To send for a priest, (if any can be had,) for they must all quit the kingdom or expose themselves to inevitable death; it is to themselves certain death, considering the greatness of the reward offered to the informer, who doubtless will be one of their own domestics. O unspeakable cruelty! O faith of men! Surely to treat them as the French king did the Huguenots would be much more tolerable; that is, to banish them the kingdom, and to allow them a reasonable time to sell estates, and dispose of their effects, as he did.

First—It is impolitic to prosecute the Roman Catholics in this kingdom, when the king is laboring to get a toleration for Protestants from Roman Catholic princes.

Secondly—It is impolitic, because it will drain the kingdom of the greatest part of the people; especially of that part which we call in scripture phrase, *Hewers of wood and drawers of water*. For if this bill pass into a law, all the estated Roman Catholics, all the merchants, dealers, shop keepers, all the tradesmen and farmers, with their respective clans, will dispose of their estates and quit the kingdom, as will also the little people who are able to purchase their passage; and such as are not, will become thieves and robbers, having no clergymen to teach or instruct them, or to keep them within bounds. And I may very well presume there are few Protestants in the kingdom, who do not know that the Roman Catholics, big and little taken together, are more than half the number of the people of Ireland.* Beside, all these, at least their children may be trained up to arms abroad, and furnish the pretender with a numerous army, who doubtless will have stomach enough to recover their native country and vindicate the wrongs which they conceive to have

* When this was written. The Catholics now are about 7 to 1 in Ireland.

been done to themselves and their parents. And here I cannot but reflect upon what I have often heard the greatest and wisest statesmen in France say, that the French king never made a more impolitic step than that of banishing the Huguenots; for they were the most fierce, the most desperate and the most prodigal of their lives of all other enemies, during the whole course of his wars.

Thirdly—It is impolitic to dispeople a nation, which must of necessity be supplied by foreigners and strangers; how else shall we plough our land, reap or thrash our corn, draw stones or water, &c. Now it is not to be imagined we can be furnished with a sufficient number for such purposes otherwise than by inviting all the Huguenots or French refugees, dispersed over most countries of Europe. This indeed we may have: but then they are and will be still huguenots or calvinists; will wear swords and carry arms; and though they will readily take all the oaths which our laws require, yet still they will be of a different religion from that which is by law established, and will endeavor to propagate it. And who knows what so great a body of people, trained up to arms, and fierce in their nature, may in the second or third generation attempt on the natives?

This reflection I take the liberty to borrow from the answer which a noble peer of our country (the late Earl of Drogheda) made to my Lord Galway, who left no stone unturned, nor no refined politics unpractised, when he sat at the helm the first time, to get the bill passed, by which the Roman Catholics should be obliged to take the oath of supremacy. And who, observing that the worst of peers were averse to any such cruelty, began to closet them one by one, in order to extort a promise from them to be for passing the bill. This noble peer being sent for to this purpose, my Lord Galway addressed him in this manner: *I do not question any Lord, (said he,) but your Lordship will be for passing this good bill; for by it the Protestant Religion will be strengthened, and we shall get rid of those vermin—the papists. My Lord, I should be very glad, (answered the Earl of Drogheda,) to see the Protestant Religion strengthened: but what shall we do my Lord, (continued he,) for hewers of wood and drawers of water; for laboring men, threshers of corn, &c.*

Take no thought for that my Lord, (replied Lord Galway,) for I give you my word and honor I will bring 30,000 of good Protestant families into the kingdom in three months after the bill is passed. 30,000 Protestant families! For that very reason, (rejoined the Earl,) I will be against the bill. For there is not one of them but wears a sword, and thinks himself as good a gentleman as I am, and possibly would offer to fight me, should I attempt to find fault with him. And for any thing I know, such a number would increase, so as to drive the natives out of the land.

Lastly—it is against the interest of the government—for it is well known that the Roman Catholic merchants and dealers carry on more than half the trade of the kingdom, and pay more custom and duty than all the protestants in it. Now if this bill should pass, all these merchants and dealers would be necessitated to leave the kingdom, to the great diminution of the revenue, and God knows in how many years this could be retrieved, if ever.

This is the lamentable case, Right Reverend Fathers, in God, right honorable lords, and most excellent senators, of the unfortunate Roman Catholics of Ireland, who would have died to the last man, with their swords in their hands, could they imagine that the public faith, so solemnly given them, should be violated, or themselves reduced without cause, to intolerable servitude. Their behaviour being so even, their demeanor so peaceable, and their loyalty so untainted, that they challenge the worst of their enemies from the day they submitted, to this, to find the least flaw or blemish in their conduct. Nay, the only thing I could hear them charged with, is, that their hearts and affections are not for the government; and that there are a great many priests come of late from foreign countries into this kingdom.

To the first of these articles, I shall beg leave to return the same answer, as the general of the Viertes did to the Roman consul, Titus Livius. This general being asked, by the consul, (after having concluded a peace the fourth or fifth time with him and his people,) how long would that peace hold? answered, as long as you use us well. Be pleased, most excellent lords and noble senators, to give us the same liberty and freedom as our fellow subjects have, to use our industry, and enjoy the fruits thereof; let

no distinction be made, but of good and bad, and I will engage the government will have our hearts, our affections, and our hands. For there need be no stock of reason to conclude that men who live easy and happy, under any government, will be such fools as to be easily induced to believe a certainty for an uncertainty. And he must be a very great stranger to the constitutions of Germany and Holland, who thinks that Roman Catholics and Protestants are equally well used cannot be equally well zealous, and equally well affected to the government under which they live.

In answer to the second, I shall only ask the same question, as Abraham did of God Almighty, (Gen. xviii. 23,) "Wilt thou also destroy the righteous with the wicked?" Must the civil and quiet priests who have lived these many years in the country be destroyed for the indiscretion of other priests, whose coming they know nothing of; nor if they had, was it in their power to prevent; no, they hope better things from the mildness and lenity of the present government, and flatter themselves that as they have been overlooked since the accession of his most sacred majesty king George to the throne, (notwithstanding the severity of the laws made against them in the reign of queen Anne,) and enjoyed without any trouble or molestation, the free exercise of their religion, which they gratefully accept with all thankfulness, and for which they continually pray for the blessings of heaven upon his majesty and his magistrates; so the same mildness and lenity will still overlook and preserve them; and therefore must humbly submit themselves and their case to the wisdom of the present parliament.

Whilst the arguments and expostulations contained in the preceding address, had little or no effect on the English misgovernors, they tended to induce Irishmen to join in the cause of justice and to be united in one constitutional struggle against the enemies of their country.

Dean Swift, although in many respects an eccentric character, exerted his gigantic

talents, not so much in direct defence of Catholics, as in exposing to the contempt of mankind the infamy of their oppressors. He did much by reason, satire and political ridicule, in reducing the power of misrule, and it is said that his writings so enraged the *pious Queen*, that he lost a bishoprick by them.

Amongst other acts, the Dean contributed to put down the fraud of Wood, who by intrigue obtained a patent in 1723 for coining half pence to the amount of £108,000, although the real value of the base currency did not exceed £8000. These exertions stimulated the Irish Parliament once more to rally in defence of their country, and induced many others to come forward to raise her from the prostrate condition to which mis-government had reduced her ! Prior, Dobbs, and others at the same period raised their voice, and used their pens against the curse of absenteeism, and in support of domestic trade and manufacture.

Nothing, perhaps, contributed to shew candid Englishmen, at this period, the infamy of the enemies of the Catholics, than the proposal and adoption of the vile Septennial Bill, which under the infamous pretext of *resisting a popish faction*, (as the act states) abolished the solemn compact between the governors and people of England, of forming a new Parliament every three years, and in its stead, proposing that for the future, it should not be until every seven years ! To

this act (carried in 1715) may be traced that corruption in the government and those innumerable acts of legalized tyranny towards the people at large, which we have all reason this day to deplore.

Upon the death of George I., his son, George II., ascended the throne. Ireland, from a wicked and barbarous policy, now laboured under every grievance. Her commerce was restricted, her agriculture was damped, and her trade was nearly annihilated, through the intervention of her kind sister, England, or rather English misrulers! These miseries were aggravated by the horrors of famine in the years 1728 and 1729, which swept away many thousands of her destitute people. : Although bowed down by the iron rod of oppression, the Catholics of Ireland rallied their christian and manly resources and asserted the justice of their cause. In defiance of that religious bigotry which the common enemies of Protestants and Catholics engendered, the former sought the hand of their liberal dissenting brethren whilst many of the latter advanced theirs to join for the common good of their country. This coalition, so much desired by every true Protestant and honest christian, became so formidable to corrupt power that the usual policy of *divide et imperia* was adopted. Efforts were accordingly made by the Government, to put an end to the political existence of the Catholics. In defiance

of justice and in opposition to the principles of the Constitution, which they affected to support, they accordingly deprived them of the elective franchise. Thus were the majority of the Irish people robbed by the would-be lovers of liberty, of a voice in and out of Parliament; and a Catholic was neither allowed to elect a member of Parliament or be elected as one, contrary to the first dictates of Magna Charta, which even in the reign of Henry II. was guaranteed to Ireland, as Molyneaux, in his "Case Stated," has proved.

Irishmen of all classes were again convinced by experience, that the efforts made to keep the Catholics slaves only contributed to ruin Ireland at large. They accordingly once more combined legitimately in the common struggle for freedom, and rallied in defence of Ireland's honor!

Whilst the English Government, through the instrumentality of Lord Carteret, endeavored to vest in the Crown, redeemable by Parliament, the fund which had been provided for the payment of the National Debt, the patriots in the Irish house of Commons joined against the ministerialists, and carried the question in opposition to the combined phalanx by the single vote of Colonel Tottenham, who rode post to Dublin to be present at the debate, which gave rise to the toast of "Tottenham in boots," and which proves what value there may be in a single

vote in Parliament on an important question.

In 1745, the celebrated Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. At this period the British government was greatly embarrassed, not only by the defeat at Fontenoy, but by the landing of the Chevalier in the North of Scotland.

As usual when the British government was secure, they persecuted the Catholics, but when endangered, they either treated them mildly or affected moderation.

Chesterfield, an accomplished scholar, an artful statesman, and crafty politician, acted his part with coolness and moderation. He endeavored to "give a triumph to neither party." Although he did not pursue the system of rigor and persecution adopted by his predecessors, yet he was considered a dubious character.

Whilst Scotland at this period evinced a disposition to support the Pretender, the Catholics of Ireland gave fresh proofs of their loyalty. Most of the Catholic houses of worship were now re-opened, many of their priests were liberated from their dungeons, and themselves were allowed to enjoy the exercise of their religion to an extent not known for years before.

But no sooner was peace established in Scotland, and the government had nothing to fear, than they returned to their hostility to the Catholics, and manifested that

shameful ingratitude which seems to have been their leading feature towards the people of Ireland.

In 1753 the Irish Commons gave another proof of their power and independence, when properly directed. "A bill (says Earl Clare) was proposed for applying the surplus, then in the Exchequer, to pay a public debt which had been some time before contracted. The courtiers of that day, ranged under the ecclesiastical banner, contended that this surplus belonged to the Crown, and therefore, that the king's previous assent to its application ought to be signified before the Commons could appropriate it. The patriots, ranged under the Speaker's banner, insisted that no such assent was necessary, and beat their political adversaries by a small majority. Heads of a bill for the appropriation passed the Commons, without taking notice of the king's previous assent to it. They were rejected by the Crown, and the surplus was applied by the royal authority without the intervention of Parliament. But the Commons took effectual care that the question should not occur a second time by appropriating every future surplus to their private use, under the specious pretence of local public improvements." Speech of 1800, pp. 27, 28.

The celebrated Charles Lucas, eminently distinguished himself about this period by his patriotic exertions in defence of the

liberties of Ireland, and in opposition to the abuses of the Dublin Corporation. The power of his arguments, and the severity of his truths, obtained for him the hostility of the government, which forced him to fly for personal safety. He however shortly returned with renewed strength, was elected a Member of Parliament, "and like a true patriot stood fire to the last hour of his life in the honorable cause of his suffering country."

About this period, the Catholics of Ireland devoted their entire thoughts to the best mode of obtaining national redress. For this purpose, Mr. O'Connor of Ballynagar, predecessor of the present O'Connor Don, Mr. Wyse of Waterford, grandfather of the present honorable member for Tipperary, (1832,) and Dr. Curry, the able author of the "*Civil Wars in Ireland*," proposed the formation of a Committee for the first Association in Dublin, to conduct more effectually the political concerns of their body.

In 1759 and 1760, the Catholics of Ireland, shewed fresh proofs of their loyalty, under unmerited persecutions. The French invaded Ireland, by the armament, consisting of 6 ships, having on board 1270 land forces, commanded by the celebrated Thurot, whose gallant exploits had obtained for him great promotion in the French navy. Two of the ships having been separated from the rest by a violent storm, returned to France, but the remaining three directed

their course towards Ireland ; and on the 21st of February, 1769, landed 600 men near Carrickfergus. The force opposed to them consisted of only four companies of newly raised soldiers, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Jennings. A battle ensued between this party and the French, until the former having expended all their ammunition, were forced to retire into the town and shut themselves up in the castle, where they were soon obliged to capitulate, after having killed about 100 of their enemies, with a loss of only three of their own men. The French commander, after laying the town under a moderate contribution, embarked, but was met by Commodore Elliot, with an equal force, and after a desperate engagement, in which Thurot was slain, the French ships surrendered. Such was the fate of the only armament that had for a series of years made a hostile descent upon Ireland. The Catholics behaved on this occasion as on every other of alarm and danger, with such exemplary firmness in principle and duty, that they have been considered by some servilely attached to persecuting intolerance. They, however, always distinguished between what was their duty and what was their interest ; and they preferred suffering in a righteous cause to enlisting under the standard of revolt, when opposed not only to their religion but to the principles of that constitution which they had sworn to sup-

port. The Catholic prelates and clergy, now, as well as on every other occasion, did their duty, in shewing to their flocks that it was even "better to bear the ills they had, than run to those they knew not of;" that although they were persecuted unjustly, by their own government, for following the dictates of their conscience, they might suffer more from the French infidel philosophy and licentiousness, under the name of liberty. In fine, they told them that although the government might still treat them with ingratitude, that God in his own good time would reward their fidelity and unparalleled patience under unmerited persecution.

These lessons had the desired effect. The Catholics from all parts of Ireland tendered their allegiance, in the form of addresses, to his excellency the lord lieutenant, which was accepted, & measures taken to advance them to the threshold of constitutional freedom.

In 1760, George III. grand-son of George II. ascended the throne. At this period, the affairs of Ireland, through the mal-administration of English governors, were in a deplorable condition. The greatest misery existed amongst the Irish peasantry, which produced alarming disturbances. Corrupt power, always disposed to attribute the cause to the effect, falsely charged, these disturbances to preconceived plots on the part of the Catholics. Different associations now sprung up in Ireland on account

of the anomalous state of the country. The *White Boys*, so called from wearing white shirts over their clothes, now commenced their proceedings. The *Oak Boys*, deriving their name from wearing oaken boughs in their hats, and the *Hearts of Steel*, so called for their determination, shortly after formed themselves into strong bodies of opposition to what they considered oppression. To remove these disorders a commission was instituted to inquire into the real cause of those assembled bodies. The report stated that the members consisted of persons of all religions, whose resistance arose from numerous causes of distress, particularly for want of trade, and the scarcity and high prices of provisions. It was also discovered that *Tithes*, and the rapacity of landlords contributed not a little to those commotions, whilst neither religious hostility or disaffection to the king or government, was manifested by the people.

As a remarkable proof of the utter contempt of justice, at this period, the Rev. Nicholas Sheehy, P. P. of Clogheen, after being tried and acquitted in Dublin, by the malignant efforts of his enemies, was again tried in Clonmel, was hanged and quartered in 1766 for the supposed murder of a man named Bridge, who was afterwards found alive in *Newfoundland*, where he was privately sent !

The immortal Father O'Leary contributed more by his writings and preaching, to

put down disturbance at this period, than all the efforts of government. "Possessing talents, (as Mr. Gratton said,) which would have done honor to the Augustan age," he exerted them with most miraculous effect in subduing the violence of the poorer classes in Ireland caused by acts of tyranny and misrule.

Lord Townsend's administration at this period was distinguished by a flagrant violation of the people's rights ; parliaments being in some instances prorogued from the commencement to the end of the reign.

This Viceroy also had recourse to the old mode of *pensions* to seduce men from their allegiance to their God ! considering that the yearly provision of £30 made by 8th of Anne, was not a sufficient encouragement for "popish priests to become converts," he granted an additional sum of £10 to every apostate, who conformed to the *Church, established by law and lucre !*

The Irish Parliament once more evinced a patriotic spirit. After various struggles against the corrupt influence exerted on the part of the English ministers, they passed a bill in 1768, which limited the duration of parliament to eight years !

In 1778 the Catholics were enabled by special acts of the Legislature to take leases for any term of years not exceeding 999, or any number of lives not exceeding five.

They were also allowed to celebrate or

assist at mass, without the penalties previously exacted, and permitted to keep a horse to the value of £5, which was deemed a crime by former barbarous statutes !

On the 12th October, 1778, the first regiment of the *Dublin Volunteers* was formed, under the command of his grace the Duke of Leinster. The dispute with America tended much to invigorate the drooping spirits of Irishmen, and the situation of Ireland was so analogous to that of America, at the time, that it created mutual feeling and sympathy. In fact, whilst the Americans made out their case against English domination and foreign misrule, they made out a stronger case for Irishmen, who had more cause of complaint than the inhabitants of the revolted colonies !

America, although partially misruled, was founded and cherished by England. Ireland, by a perfidious policy, was subjugated, depressed and degraded. The former, altho' interfered with, in a branch of her local taxes, was rapidly advancing in her trade and commerce—whilst the latter had her agriculture, manufacture and commerce daily diminished by English interference. In fact, she was exhausted by taxes and drained by remittances, which were given to England, whilst her own people were impoverished and enslaved ! These circumstances aroused the feelings of Irishmen and

gave birth to those *free associations* which shortly after proved the means of securing independence to Ireland !

The government affrighted at the situation of the country, or rather at the decrease of their own corrupt power, delivered out to the people 16,000 stand of arms, thereby encouraging and increasing the volunteers, without any stipulation, regulation or authority, calculated to subject them to subordination.

Henry Grattan, possessing eloquence of the first order, now raised his mighty voice, and called upon his countrymen to be *free* ! Seconded by the voice of Ireland, even the supporters of the Castle were forced to quit their ranks, and on the 12th October, 1779, both houses of the Irish Parliament, unanimously addressed the King for a *free trade* ! Such was the efficacy of the measure thus urged, and thus supported, that all the force of British influence was unable to resist the demand, and Ireland obtained her request. This first step to national freedom, led to other measures of greater importance. The people now began to pant for political independence. In a short time 80,000 volunteers rose in arms for the liberation of their country. Protestants, Catholics, and Presbyterians forgot their religious feuds, and nobly rallied round the altar of freedom. The fire of patriotism which the people enkindled, now enflamed the bosom of the Irish Senate, and the *independence of Ireland* was

obtained because it could no longer be withheld!

In 1782, under the administration of the Duke of Portland, the act was passed for the restoration of the Constitution of Ireland, by the special repeal of the act 6th George I., entitled, "an act for better securing the dependence of Ireland on the Crown of Great Britain."

By this act, the independence of Ireland (in her legislative capacity) of England, was settled. Ireland had thus the power of making her own laws, and the result was that the act was hailed with rapturous joy by the people of Ireland.

As a standing proof of the value of *an independent native Legislature*, Ireland rose with gigantic strides to national honor and prosperity from this until 1797, when British monopolists and foreign corrupt statesmen, conceiving that such prosperity was dangerous to Britain, by a series of treacherous and deceitful acts, first sowed the seeds of disaffection and rebellion, and on their foundation erected the superstructure of English misrule, which, by the subsequent *Act of Union*, reduced Ireland to a worse condition than that of a petty province under the vilest despot. As we are limited in our present sketch, and as this is a period too important to be passed over, we refer to our "*Essays on Absenteeism, and the Union reconsidered after thirty years*," just published by the printers, which the mis-

rulers of Ireland may disapprove of, but never can refute.

In 1783, the National Bank was established, and the Order of St. Patrick was instituted. This order was established with the intent of conferring on the Irish a mark of distinction. The king declared himself sovereign of the order, and the ceremony of installation was performed with great magnificence on the 17th of March, in the Cathedral of St. Patrick, Earl Temple, then Lord Lieutenant, being grand master.

On the 17th of April, 1783, the independence of the Irish Courts of Justice was declared by a British Act of Parliament, and upon the 25th of the following June the Bank of Ireland was established by another Act of Parliament.

The Volunteers now exerted themselves to bring about a Reform in Parliament ; but their efforts were rendered at that time unsuccessful by divisions created by English misrule. The link of unanimity being severed, the fall of the Irish association was rapid. In the mean time many important measures were obtained for Ireland. In 1784 the Habeas Corpus Act passed. In this and the following years the Assembly-House, General Post-Office, Royal Irish Academy, Four Courts, and many other national structures were erected to advance the taste and trade of Ireland.

The Government always knowing that

"divide and conquer" was the most effectual means to ruin Ireland, now adopted the old plan of creating dissensions. In 1785, Mr. Pitt labored, by his insidious *"commercial propositions"* to regain the legislative supremacy so lately wrested from England. This being the first great stone on which the Union was to be established. These acts aroused the indignant feelings of the Irish people, and in 1788, upon the Regency Question, the Irish Parliament asserted its independence, by calling on the Prince of Wales to accept the Regency, during the illness of George III., unfettered by those restrictions which the English Parliament had imposed upon him, the more effectually to carry its own schemes. In the mean time, the work of creating division among Irishmen was still carried on by the paid agents of English statesmen.

Notwithstanding these unhallowed efforts, the Catholics of Ireland did, in 1793, obtain the restoration of the elective franchise. In that year the Catholic body sent five delegates to London to present their petition to the king, and his Majesty accepted it, and pledged himself to use his royal influence to get the law passed in their behalf, which was accordingly effected.

The people of Ireland still raised their voice for a Reform in Parliament, and a meeting of delegates was to be held for that purpose at Athlone, which was prevented

by the Convention Act. This did not however destroy the feeling of the nation, or make the people relax their efforts for freedom. Different meetings for the purpose were held by a society called "United Irishmen," which was first formed in Belfast and next in Dublin, by T. W. Tone, in 1791.

The ministry and ascendancy, now alarmed at the rising spirit of the people, endeavored to prevent their national union. Mr. Pitt availed himself of the circumstance to press forward his favorite measure of external union with England under the pretext of more effectually giving British liberty to Ireland !

A deep laid plot was discovered in 1794, got up to stigmatize the Catholics, through the crimination of Mr. Fay and other respectable gentlemen, for the murder of Mr. Butler ! But providence defeated the hellish machination by proving the perjuries of Lynch, the informer, and the other miscreants who had been hired to swear away the lives of innocent men.

A new piece of policy was now adopted, apparently with a view of giving justice to Ireland, but with the real intent of more effectually blasting her rising hopes.

In 1795, Pitt affected to leave the reform of Ireland to her own rulers. Messrs. Grattan and Ponsonby were deputed to form a new administration. Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed to the office of Viceroy and his appointment was hailed with universal joy.

In the mean time, to manage an under current, Mr. Beresford was deputed to carry on a counter project in England. By secret negotiations he contrived to have Earl Fitzwilliam's efforts to give Catholics justice, entirely stultified, and to enable *Protestant Ascendancy*; to trample on National Union, Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation !

This plan had the effect desired by the enemies of Ireland. The breach between the Protestant Ascendancy and the Irish Catholics became wider ; the cameliion form of government again shewed itself, and the duplicity of the Whigs, in their professions of liberality towards Catholics was again proved. Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled in March, 1795, after an administration of only three months, and was succeeded by Lord Camden. So affected were the Irish people at the removal of Earl Fitzwilliam, that the day of his departure was observed in Dublin as a day of general mourning.

The reign of terror now commenced, and the animosity of the ascendancy party, particularly in Portadown, was so decided that the *Defenders* challenged them to fight it out fairly in the field rather than harass them with murderous nocturnal visits. Accordingly, on the 21st of September, 1795, a battle of rather a party nature took place at the village of Desmond, where the Defenders were defeated by their opponents, who

were better organized than they were. On that day the *Peep of Day Boys* dropped that appellation, and assumed the denomination of *Orangemen*, and then formed their first lodge. The *Orangemen* affected to unite in support of the constitution established at the Revolution of 1688. Their original object and obligation are stated to have been the total extermination of the Catholics of Ireland. The oath of extermination they afterwards changed into that of supporting the king, *as long as he should support the Protestant Ascendancy*. This unhappy faction, first swore to do what it was impossible as a handful of men they ever could do—exterminate a whole people—and next defined a species of loyalty for themselves, which, according to their own shewing, proves they have no loyalty at all, as it is at an end, in regard to his late Majesty, George IV. who ratified the bill for Catholic Emancipation ; and also, in respect to his Majesty William IV. who has sealed their doom by ratifying the Reform Bill. “ These insurgents, (said Mr. Gratton, in 1796,) called themselves *Orangemen*, or *Protestant Boys*, that is, a band of murderers, committing massacre in the name of God, and exercising despotic power in the name of liberty.”

The *United Irishmen*, now exasperated at the insolence of the *Orangemen* on one hand, and at the treachery of the would-be-liberal statesmen on the other, professed to demand

their rights to the fullest extent. To shew the cause of the threatened disturbance, it is only necessary to mention, that although 7000 persons were killed in the county of Armagh alone, whose only crime, as a noble Lord said, " was the simple profession of the Faith," the government so far from punishing the murderers, actually protected their associations, propagated their principles and promoted their lodges, for the express purpose of dividing the people, inflaming religious discord and turning the public mind from national liberty.

In the mean time Ireland was invaded ! In 1796, a French fleet arrived in Bantry Bay. During the summer of that year, a large armament designed for the invasion, had been prepared at Brest, consisting of 18 sail of the line, 13 frigates, and 12 sloops, with transports, and 25,000 men, under the command of General Hoche. The day after the fleet left Brest harbor, a violent storm arose and continued during the whole time of the expedition. On the 24th of December, Admiral Bouvet, commander-in-chief of the French fleet, arrived, and anchored in Bantry Bay, but receiving no intelligence of General Hoche and his staff, who were in a frigate that parted from the fleet in a gale of wind, the French Admiral returned to Brest, where he arrived on the 31st of the same month. The United Irishmen however, renewed their league with the French

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Directory, in 1797, and laid plans for the insurrection of 1798 ; some of which may be seen in T. W. Tone's life.

Excited perhaps by over sanguine prospects on one hand, and goaded by excessive cruelty on the other, a portion of the Irish people arose (viz, Leinster, Wexford, part of Munster, Down and Antrim) and defenceless and unarmed as they were, if the rising had been general at the time, however unpropitious the moment, it is thought that there would have been an end to the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland. It is necessary to remark, that this, so far from being a Catholic Rebellion, was concocted and principally conducted by Protestants and Presbyterians, as the minutes of evidence taken by the private committee demonstratively prove. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a nobleman of great military tactics and warlike parts, took an important station in those arrangements, as may be seen at length in his life, written by Thomas Moore. On the 19th of May, 1798, he was arrested on the charge of high treason and on the 4th of June died of the wounds he received on the occasion.

Teeling, in his "*Personal Narrative of the Rebellion*," Moore, in his "*Life of Lord Edward*," Dickson, in his "*Narrative*," Hay's "*Insurrection of Wexford*," and Cloney's "*Narrative*," will present the reader with a complete account of the singular events of this period; and will shew the true cause of that Insurrection, which took off 20,000 subjects ; destroyed property to the a-

mount of several millions and nearly shook Britain to its centre. "To trace the origin or mark the progress of a scene at which humanity shudders, would at this time be unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that while on the one hand the most flagrant excesses were committed by those deluded men who had joined the standard of rebellion, so, on the other, the unhappy victims that fell into the hands of the soldiery were destroyed with unrelenting cruelty."

Whilst the country was thus distracted with civil broils, cursed with religious divisions and brutalized by foreign tyrants, it was deemed "fit and proper" to propose and carry "*the healing Measure of the Union.*" As an introductory step large pensions and profits were held out. The Catholics were to be emancipated; the Orangemen were to be conciliated; the Protestants were to be secured; all the people were to be benefited and Ireland was to be regenerated anew! Many new titles were promised; new places were created; old births were filled with new men; pensions were granted to the supporters of the "*unmixed good,*" and even the virtuous priesthood of Ireland were to be duly rewarded if they would but use their influence "in consolidating the empire!" Among other schemes to carry on the *holy work* was the infamous project of having a veto upon the appointment of Catholic Bishops vested in the crown, and of *binding them by a golden link to the powers that be!* Although these plans made little or no effect upon the mass of the Irish people, they

seduced some who were considered until then the peoples' advocates. The ten unsuspecting prelates who were trustees to Maynooth College were seduced into the belief that the government was really kindly affected, for once, toward them and their religion ! Although they would not give the entire veto, yet they consented to give some degree of interference to the Crown. This consent, as we are assured by Dr. England, remained for nearly nine years a *profound secret* not only to the people but clergy of Ireland, when it was solemnly execrated by the voice of the people and clergy in 1808.

After a series of battles between the contending Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland, and even between the genius of the Irish house in which Grattan, Curran, Bushe, Plunket and others astonished mankind by their eloquence and arguments, the Union was carried by the most profligate means that ever disgraced the annals of legislation. Although at first it was lost in the Irish legislature and was opposed by seven-eighths of the Irish people, yet by creations and removing popular men, as Sir Jonah Barrington informs us, it was carried by a managed majority of 48, and was proclaimed to the nation on the first of January, 1801. The imperial united standard was then first displayed upon Bedford Tower, Dublin Castle and those bells rung, which every patriot considered as the dead-bells of Ireland.

To give the history of Ireland from the passing of the act of Union to this time, would be

to give the pauperism of a nation for one-third of a century ! So far was the union from realizing all the golden prospects proposed, that it attained no one object intended, and actually broke the heart of some of the principle men who advocated it. Earl Clare, who under Pitt, was the principal manager of the union plot in Ireland, finding that this measure had not only ruined Ireland but had destroyed his own rising hopes, quitted England in vexation and disgust. Lord Castlereagh no less ardent in his desire to bind his country to English domination, finding some years after that he had only concurred to seal her doom and destroy his own honor, put an end to his own existence !

The Union having been found to be an abortive measure, in 1803, a few men under the command of the unfortunate but talented Robert Emmet, designed another rebellion, which was less successful than the first, because it was without arrangement or combination. His speech before his death, is, perhaps, one of the most singular specimens of oratory ever recorded in the annals of any nation.

Few matters of moment occurred but the slow decay of every thing Irish, until Mr. O'Connell arose, who was born about 25 years before this period. The first act of his public life was to protest against the desolating measure of the Union. In 1808 he joined his countrymen against a renewed proposal of giving the crown a vote on the appointment of Catholic Bishops. In 1814, 15 and 16 he was the most ardent in

denouncing the schemes of the aristocracy, in endeavoring to enslave the Priesthood in order to obtain civil liberty for themselves. These bold and manly acts obtained for him immense influence over the people, and in a few years, particularly after the death of Mr. Keogh, he was considered the political leader of the Catholics of Ireland. His first great efforts were directed to unite all classes of his countrymen as the wisest means of obtaining their freedom. Accordingly, in 1821, after King George IV. had visited Ireland, he proposed the formation of the old Catholic Association. This body was for some time composed of very few ; among the first members were Messrs O'Connell, Lawless, Shiel, Kirwan, Battersby, Grace, Coppinger, O'Reilly, &c. yet in the course of one year it contained more members than any other society ever did in Ireland before. The next mighty political device was the Catholic Rent. The mode of collecting this national fund, and the important purposes for which it was to be expended, were clearly defined in the report from the Finance Committee. The Rent became the connecting link which bound every honest Irishman together, and in a short time the union of Irishmen became too strong for any power to destroy.

The Catholic Association having abolished many abuses, exposed acts of petty tyranny, refuted interested falsehoods, silenced the Orange men and defended the fame and honor of our country, had petitions from every quarter of the green Island forwarded to the legislature. Ap-

peaks were clamorous, loud and long, and too strong to be resisted. As a previous measure to the carrying of emancipation then proposed, the suppression of the old Catholic Association was deemed necessary by the enemies of Ireland and a bill was accordingly introduced for that purpose. It was strongly petitioned against particularly by the parishioners of St. Michael and John in a petition written by Mr. Battersby which was inserted on the minutes of the house of commons. As the history of this illustrious body is fully given in the *Ghost of the Catholic Association*, written by the same hand, we here pass over its mighty proceedings.

In 1825, Parliamentary Committees were formed to receive evidence on the state and condition of Ireland. The testimony of the Catholic Bishops, particularly of Drs. Murray, Doyle, Curtis and Maguaran, made a tremendous impression upon the English mind.

Mr. O'Connell considering that Emancipation was within his grasp, and no doubt deeming it the most glorious struggle of his life to obtain Emancipation for his countrymen, consented to the pensioning of the Clergy and the disfranchising of the forty-shilling freeholders, as the terms of the desired "boon."

The extent of his influence was so great that although these measures were execrated by almost every man in Ireland, yet, few had the firmness to raise their voices against the proffered bargain, coming from such a quarter. Mr. Lawless, as one of the deputies at the same

time in England, was the first there who publicly denounced those measures which were then called the *wings*. His conduct upon this occasion demands the everlasting thanks of his countrymen ; because, if the franchise were then destroyed, the means of subsequently carrying Emancipation were taken away. Mr. Battersby was the first in Dublin who publicly called upon his countrymen to raise their voice against the "execrable measures," as they were called. His articles upon the priest-pensioning project made a great impression upon the Catholics of Ireland, particularly as they refuted every argument that was set forward in its defence. Mr. Ensor, Mr. Ronayne, Mr. Hamilton, Dr. Doyle, Rev. Mr. Keogh, followed in denouncing the wings, and in a short time Mr. O'Connell had to submit to public opinion and become *himself again*. The exertions of Mr. Cobbett, and Mr. Andrews of London, on this occasion demand warmest acknowledgment.

Although, amongst Irishmen, unusual condemnation was put upon record against those measures, yet, the cunning politicians of England did not forget them. The bill did not then pass ; but the measures, (particularly that for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders,) were too great to be passed over in arrangements with Ireland ; and it behoves the people to be on their guard against the future introduction of the plan of pensioning their clergy, which would be the doom of religion and liberty.

Agitation now recommenced in every impos-

ing feature. A new Association was formed, petitions from every quarter were transmitted to Parliament, and simultaneous meetings on one day in every parish in Ireland, were held, calling for Legislative justice.

Singular occurrences now took place ; but perhaps no measure created more effect than the election of Clare, in 1828. A vacancy occurred in that county, and a determination was formed to set aside Vesey Fitzgerald as the ministerial candidate, who had great influence there. No man could be then found to enter the field. Mr. O'Connell, to the wonder and astonishment of all, came forward to try the right of a Catholic to be elected and dictated an address the most remarkable ever known. A simultaneous effort was made ; subscriptions poured in from every quarter, and Mr. O'Connell, proposed by O'Gorman Mahon and seconded by Thomas Steele, was returned by an overwhelming majority. Mr. Lawless was now deputed by the Catholic Association to proceed on a political tour through the North, which had a tremendous effect.

Those things petrified the opponents of the Catholics, and proved that their claims became irresistible. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, although previously pledged against emancipation, in 1829, actually introduced measures for its attainment, and after a few weeks, the "*Relief Bill*" was passed into a law, on the 13th of April, 1829, not, however, without a bill for the destruction of 200,-

000 or 300,000 freeholders and a clause for the suppression of religious orders after those at present in existence should cease.

Petitions were presented against those most unjust measures from various parts of Ireland, and a most determined one was forwarded from a meeting convened in Dublin by Mr. Battersby, which was signed in a few hours by 3000, and presented by Mr. Grattan to the House of Commons, and by the Marquis of Anglesea to the House of Lords.

Without proofs or arguments, and in defiance of common justice, the *freehold wing* was passed, to the manifest destruction of thousands who had worked for the emancipation of their countrymen. It was soon found that the effects of the disfranchising and subletting acts, with the tithe system, notwithstanding emancipation, slowly worked the destruction of the main body of the people, whilst the higher classes were elevated to Parliament, and other places of rank, upon their ruins.

Mr. O'Connell, in 1830, commenced a new agitation, nothing less than to seek a restoration of Ireland's Parliament. He addressed a series of letters to his countrymen on this soul stirring subject, and in a few months the feeling was so great and general that government deemed it more prudent to put the discussion down by force than by reason or argument. They accordingly authorised meetings to be suppressed by the mere will of the Lord Lieutenant, in a manner perhaps the most despotic that was ever adopted in a country pretending to liberty.

The ingenuity of the lovers of freedom now exerted itself to give oppression pain, and insolence opposition. When meetings were put down they formed themselves into dinner parties, when those were assailed they breakfasted together, and whilst they drank their coffee they spoke upon the liberties of their country. Despotic power was not idle. In the course of a few days seven different proclamations were announced, whilst efforts were taken by the people to treat them as they deserved.

Messrs. D. O'Connell, J. Lawless, J. Redmond, J. Reynolds, and others were indicted for attempting to evade the law, and legal proceedings were taken against them for not obeying the arbitrary dictates of the Lord Lieutenant. In the mean time the act which authorised such a monstrous invasion on the liberty of the subject was nearly expired.

Whilst Mr. Lawless, Mr. Reynolds, and the other gentlemen were anxious to fight the intolerants out by abiding the fate of the trial, Mr. O'Connell deemed it better, lest a civil commotion should take place, to procrastinate the proceedings by legal technicalities, and to allow the law to smother itself in its own filth, or to die a natural death; in the mean time the Penal Statute expired, and the proceedings were given up.

The *repeal agitation* now proceeded with unabated vigor. The tradesmen of Dublin and its vicinity arrayed themselves to the number of 200,000, and walked in procession through the metropolis with loud and repeated shouts

for native freedom, and formed the Trades Political Union, the most extensive body ever formed, for the avowed purpose of obtaining repeal. Petitions, from perhaps four millions of Irishmen, demanding the national right were transmitted to Parliament. The aristocracy and trimmers formed themselves into a junto, but were afraid to meet the people. One party wishing to be out and out, denounced the repeal agitation as a demand for separation, although they knew this was a shameful falsehood. Another party, wishing to appear the peoples' friends, whilst they acted as their enemies, got up an address called the "Duke of Leinster's declaration;" tho' shame upon the blood of the Fitzgerald's, his grace's father was one of those who in a solemn protest denounced the Union! The "*declaration*," whilst it condemned the agitation of the repeal, did not give one argument in favor of the Union, nay, in its concluding part, by demanding that justice should be done to Ireland, it admitted that justice had not been done to her by a foreign senate. A regular organized opposition to tithes now commenced in Ireland, which yet proceeds over the country, and which it is hoped will have the effect of abolishing forever that unjust and scandalous impost.

These things continued until 1830, when the demand in England for reform becoming greater and greater, it was deemed by most of the lovers of the freedom of both countries, that it might be well for Irishmen to keep in obeyance (but not to set aside) their own im-

mediate question, and join with the people of England to obtain a reform, and then, by the increased facilities that measure would give, to exert their powers to obtain a *reformed parliament in Ireland*. The struggle for reform now became unanimous. Earl Grey and his colleagues pledged themselves to stand or fall by that measure. They introduced a bill, not as extensive as the people desired, but far beyond any bill previously submitted to Parliament, supported by the entire Empire, they carried this bill through the House of Commons and to the third reading in the Lords. It was there found that unless the lordly opponents gave way, or that more Peers were created, the *bill could not pass into a law*. The King *faltered and fell back for a moment*, and refused to create the Peers. The Ministers resigned. The people rallied throughout the three nations—run on the Bank—demanded gold—called upon the Commons to refuse the supplies and prepare for arms. Although his Majesty called the Duke of Wellington to his counsel, both were forced to retreat after a few days, as they could not form another administration.

Earl Grey and his colleagues were now called to office. The three Reform Bills for England, Ireland and Scotland were separately re-committed. The English Reform Bill was again submitted to the House of Lords, and strange to say, without any new creation of peers it was carried by a majority of 84 (only 22 being against it) on Monday, 4th of June,

1832, and on the following Thursday, 7th June, 1832, at 4 o'clock, it received the royal assent by commission.

Towards the close of 1832 the *unreformed parliament* was dissolved, and a general election took place. Although the elective franchise, under the Reform Bill, was not extensive enough to give popular feeling full force, yet, in many instances it increased the growing spirit of democracy, in opposition to Whigs & Tories.

In England, Mr. Cobbet, the great political writer, was elected as member for Oldham at the same time that he was put in nomination for Liverpool.

In Ireland, the popular influence appeared to have been used with still greater effect. The Repeal Test became the criterion of public character and honesty. Nearly fifty members were pledged to vote for, and to urge repeal as soon as possible, and about twenty more were returned on the understanding, that if *in the succeeding session* substantial relief would not be given to the Irish people, they would support that question as necessary to secure the liberties of their country.

It is not to be forgotten that Mr. O'Connell with three of his sons and four of his relatives, eight in all, were returned as a testimony of their respect for the head of the family, and to mark, as they conceived, in a more especial manner, their unalterable attachment to repeal, to support which those gentlemen most solemnly pledged themselves.

The British ministry, seeing the unanimous spirit of the Irish people in favor of *Native Legislation*, and fearing that the national cry for repeal would get too strong, *devised* anew one of the most despotic acts of oppression against Ireland recorded in the annals of legislation.

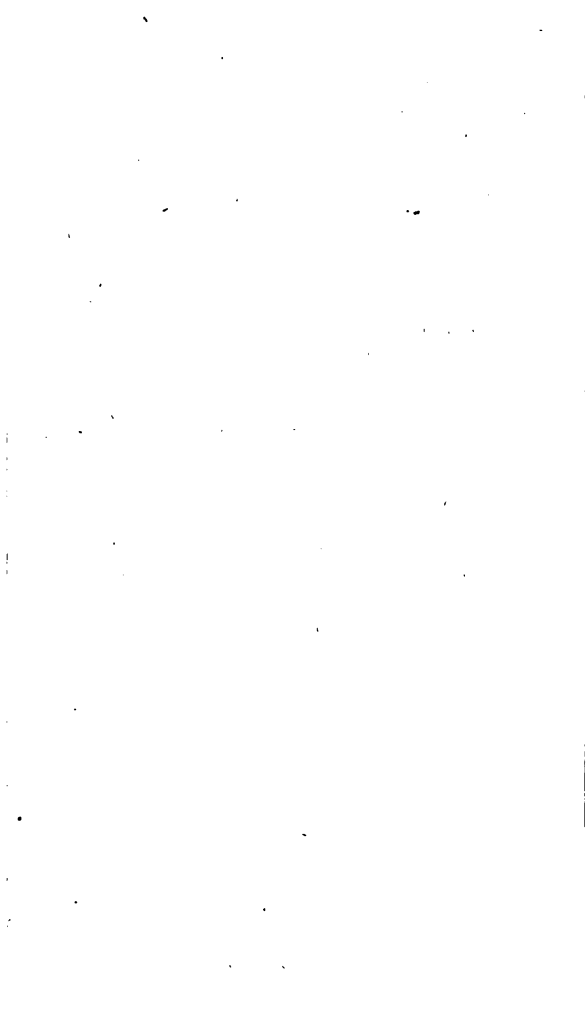
Mr. Stanlèy, as Secretary for Ireland, had declared that "*Tithes in Ireland would be entirely extinguished.*" This public pledge, was, however, shamefully violated, and the most despotic measures were taken to collect the arrears (to June 1833) of that intolerable and unjust exaction. In consequence of this, in some places, particularly in Kilkenny and the Queen's County, the *Black and White Feet* as they were called, entered into array against the payment of tithes, as other bodies had done forty years before.

It was not deemed sufficient to adopt coercive measures against those infatuated men, but the government made it most unjustly the ground of placing the whole country under *martial law*; of dissolving Irish Political Unions; of persecuting the press, and of imprisoning almost every leading man that attended a political assembly. This coercive bill, in the absence of evidence or proof, in defiance of the Report laid before Parliament in July 1832, which attributed Irish disturbance to *Tithes, Absenteeism, high rents, low wages, want of employment, bad laws*, and the *disfranchising and subletting acts*, and against the voice of Ireland proclaimed in humble petitions, was passed, and the whole country was left to the whim

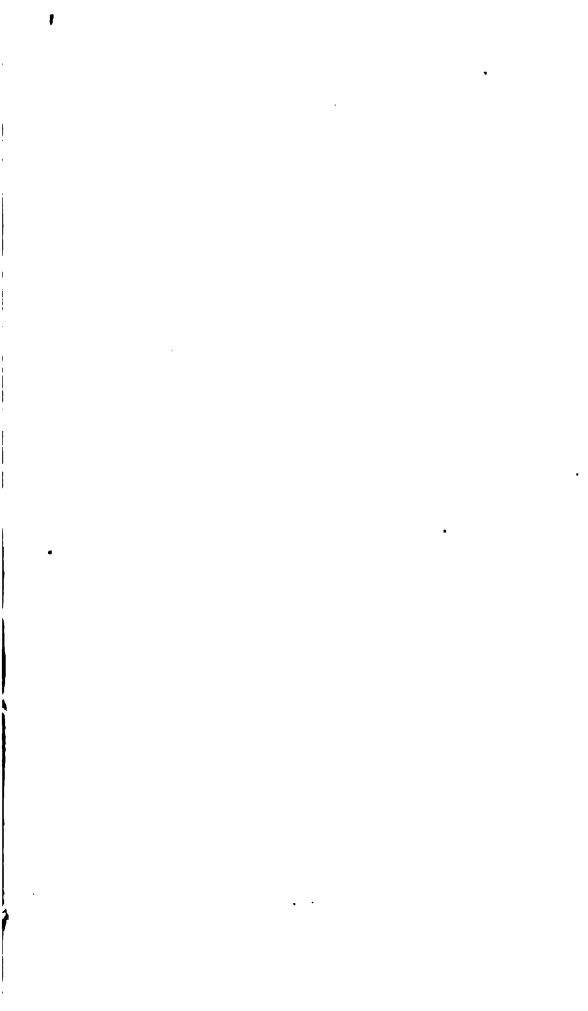
or caprice of an individual, who might proclaim any district he pleased, and even set aside the right of petition as he thought proper. As a proof, the County of Kilkenny was proclaimed, because it was disturbed, and the city of Kilkenny was proclaimed, although it never was more tranquil, "LEAST, (as the sagacious senator said,) *it might become disaffected.*"

Whilst the Whig ministry thus set all Ireland against them, their conduct towards England was little better. All that the Reform Bill was intended to produce was pertinaciously opposed by them. They not only did not diminish the burthens of the public but increased them. Their opposition to the repeal of the window tax, or rather their scandalous nullification of that repeal, carried in the Commons, excited a desperate feeling against them in England, which, with their cruelty towards the Irish people, rendered them almost intolerably contemptible. Hence, these Unions in England, composed of millions, which twelve months before stood up for the "*reforming ministers*" against the Tories, now became as unanimous in calling on his Majesty to dismiss them from his counsel; so that *now*, (July, 1833,) it is broadly stated that unless the Whigs retrace their steps, and *stand by the people in reality*, the people will demand an end of both *Whigs and Tories, and a new order of government altogether.*

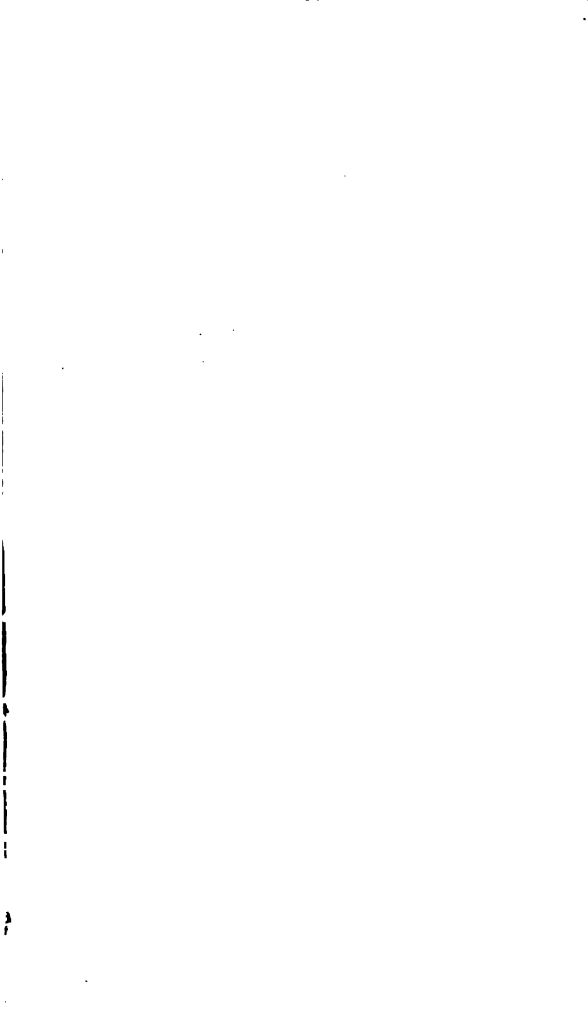
THE END.



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